THE

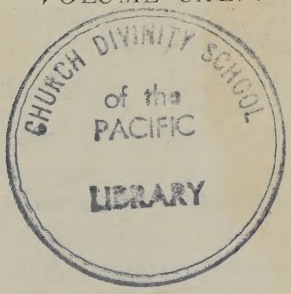
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

FOR

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1947

JANUARY—MARCH, 1948

VOLUME CXLV.



THE CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW
39, WELBECK STREET,
LONDON, W.1.
1948

v.145-
146
1947/
48

CONTENTS

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP. SOME REFLECTIONS ON ST. AUGUSTINE, EP. 138. By Leonard Hodgson 1

GODFREY GOODMAN, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER (*continued*). By Geoffrey Soden 12

THE PAPACY AND THE DIOCESE OF HEREFORD, 1307-1377. By J. T. Driver 31

THE PERSIAN SAGE. By C. S. C. Williams 48

T. E. HULME. By W. R. F. Browning 59

MARXISM. By G. J. M. Pearce 66

TRURO CLERICAL CLUB: 1750-60. By G. C. B. Davies . 80

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARCHBISHOPRICS IN EUROPE. By I. P. Shaw. 96

REVIEWS 120

PERIODICALS AND BOOKS RECEIVED 140

DIXIT CRANMER ET NON TIMUIT—I. By Gregory Dix . . 145

THE PERSIAN SAGE—II. By C. S. C. Williams . . . 177

THE COUNTRY PAROCHIAL SYSTEM: SOME COUNTER-REFLECTIONS. By J. R. H. Moorman 192

GOD'S FAVOURITE: OR THE PHILOSOPHICAL IMPORTANCE OF SANCTITY. By R. G. Norburn 196

A MAJOR CHRISTOLOGICAL PROBLEM. By Bernard Leeming, S.J. . 216

A STOWE. AN EPITOME OF THE ENGLISH EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By E. I. Watkin 221

SYRIAC AND ARABIC IN THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM. By George Every, S.S.M. 230

THE WORK OF THE CHRISTIAN CELL. By E. Cammaerts . 241

REVIEWS 261

SHORT NOTICES 280

PERIODICALS AND BOOKS RECEIVED 282

INDEX 287

+259

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

Some Reflections on St. Augustine, Ep. 138

BY LEONARD HODGSON

THIS letter is one of those written to Marcellinus, the friend to whom St. Augustine dedicated the first two books of the *De Civitate Dei,* and the *De Spiritu et Litera.* He was an official of the imperial government, a tribune and notary, who at one time was appointed to inquire into the dispute between the Catholics and Donatists. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have raised questions about the possible conflict of loyalties between a man's duties as a Christian and as a citizen. One knows from the *De Civitate Dei* how enemies of the faith were suggesting that the disasters which befell the Roman Empire were due to the abandonment of the worship of the old gods. Marcellinus appears to have been a serious-minded government official who was disturbed by the questionings he heard going on around him, and sought the advice of the bishop on what to think and say.

In his letter, to which St. Augustine's No. 138 is a reply, he has put two questions. He wants to know what he is to say to people who charge Christianity with inconsistency on the ground that God is represented as having ordered one thing in the Old Testament and another in the New. And he wants to know what to say to people who assert that a good Christian must be a bad citizen. In respect of both St. Augustine states positive principles of great importance and wide application.

He meets the charge of inconsistency by discussing the relation of absolute and relative elements in Christian ethics. He sees that the form in which the difficulty has been put raises a question of philosophical principle, that of unity and continuity in all processes of change. Change is only intelligible

339490

by reference to an unchanging background, and it is characteristic of personal life that a person can adapt himself to changing circumstances while remaining essentially the same. So God adapts his commands to man to the circumstances of different ages in human history. Man's religious duties are relative to the stages in his religious development, in which the coming of Christ made the big change. From man's point of view his duties are relative to the circumstances of his time and place. It may be that of two contrasted modes of conduct "*utrumque tunc erit rectum, si erit pro temporum diversitate diversum*" (§ 4). We have to note, says St. Augustine (§ 5), that in æsthetics there are two words *pulchrum* and *aptum*. *Pulchrum* should be kept for what is in itself essentially beautiful, *aptum* for that of which the beauty is derived from relevance to surroundings, from what in modern *parlance* we call its functional character. In morals, he says, *decens* is comparable to *aptum*. The contrast *decens* v. *indecens* corresponds to *aptum* v. *ineptum*, not to *pulchrum* v. *turpe ac deforme*.

Following St. Augustine, I suggest that it makes for clear thinking if in morals we distinguish on similar lines the two contrasts good v. bad and right v. wrong, keeping "good" for what is intrinsically and essentially good, and using "right" for "what ought to be done in the circumstances." This is of importance, for example, in connexion with a matter of which more is to be said later, the attitude of the Christian to war. War is bad, and should never be thought or spoken of as good. But it does not follow from this that it can never be right. It may be that, in certain circumstances, the actual choice before a nation is between war and an alternative which is morally worse. The extreme pacifist position rests upon the assumption that in all possible circumstances war will always morally be the worst of all possible alternatives of which the circumstances permit. Unless one is prepared to make that assumption (as I am not), one must be willing, like St. Augustine, to try to distinguish between right and wrong wars, and right and wrong methods of warfare.

So we pass on to the main theme of the Letter. This is introduced in § 9, where Marcellinus is referred to as having asked whether the apparently pacifistic teaching of the Sermon on the Mount would not be inconsistent with the welfare of the state. "*Adiecisti enim eos dicere, quod Christi praedicatio atque doctrina rei publicae moribus nulla ex parte conveniat*", the instances quoted being the commandments not to render evil for evil, to turn the other cheek, to give the cloak, and to go two miles. "'*Nam quis', inquiunt, tolli sibi ab hoste aliquid patiatur vel Romanae provinciae depraedatoribus non mala velit belli iure reponere.*"

In reply to this St. Augustine follows two lines of argument. First, in §§ 9-15, he proceeds *a priori,* arguing from the nature of the state and of Christian teaching. Then, in §§ 16-20, he argues *a posteriori,* comparing what paganism and Christianity have actually shown themselves capable of doing for the good of society.

He begins with two rather delightfully subtle touches of sarcasm. The first is in the implication that no really educated man (*vir liberaliter institutus*) would so ignorantly assume that the interests of the state require the policy of "hit back and hit hard." He would know enough Roman history to know that Rome had grown great by combining magnanimity with firmness towards aggressors. He would know his Cicero well enough to know how Cicero praised Caesar "*quod nihil oblivisci soleret nisi iniurias.*" Here comes St. Augustine's second shaft of sarcasm, the suggestion that it is an open question whether Cicero was speaking the truth as an admirer or telling a lie as a flatterer. In either case, he says, Cicero voiced the conviction of all educated men that the national hero ought to have been like that, even if he wasn't.

So, says St. Augustine, when you think it out the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount simply endorses the judgment of properly educated Roman citizens. It confirms that judgment because that judgment is rooted in a true understanding of the nature of the State (§ 10). "*Quid enim est res publica nisi res*

populi? Res ergo communis, res utique civitatis. Quid est autem civitas nisi hominum multitudo in quoddam vinculum redacta concordiae? apud eos enim legitur ita: 'Brevi multitudo diversa ac vaga concordia civitas facta erat.'"

This conception of the state is very interesting. It will not fall conveniently into either of the two types of theory contrasted by Mr. Weldon in his recent book.[1] It is neither a totalitarian monster whose individual members are of no importance as ends in themselves, nor is it a machine constructed by its members for use as their instrument. In some ways it seems to have most in common with the social contract theory of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and their followers. But to discuss the philosophical theory of the state would be out of place here. I must content myself with referring to Mr. Weldon's book, the very valuable 1937 Oxford Conference paper by Sir Ernest Barker reprinted at the end of his *Essays on Government*,[2] and the other literature of the subject. It is enough for us now to take St. Augustine as saying that, whatever may be the truth about the *esse* of the state, its *bene esse* demands on the part of all its citizens a willingness to subordinate their private interests to the common good, in a spirit of mutual forbearance, give and take. One may remark in passing that such action would be a literal fulfilment of the commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself, a point which is obscured by St. Ambrose and others when they try to go one better than the Gospel and expound the commandment as meaning that we should love our neighbours better than ourselves.

St. Augustine does not refer to this Second Great Commandment, but to those passages from the Sermon on the Mount to which objection had been taken. By a somewhat amusing piece of exegesis he makes "turning the other cheek" symbolize preferring spiritual victories above earthly gain. The saying must be intended to be symbolical, he says, because

[1] *States and Morals.* By T. D. Weldon (John Murray, 1946).

[2] Oxford University Press, 1945.

naturally it would be the left cheek that would be struck first (§ 13). The command refers to the inner spirit wherewith the Christian is to take injuries. What he must aim at is the good of his injurer, an aim which will not always require the literal turning of the other cheek. After all, he says, neither Jesus nor St. Paul literally turned the other cheek when they were smitten.

Here we must be careful. When St. Augustine says that the commandment is directed towards the inner spirit he was not anticipating those foolish preachers who have distinguished the New Testament from the Old by saying that Christianity is solely concerned with motives. He knows that for an act to be what it should be, it must both subjectively be done from the right motive and also objectively be the right response to the situation. He shows his grasp of this double-sidedness of ethical judgments by pointing out (§ 14) that while our motive should always be to secure the good of the other party, different circumstances may require different treatment. There may be occasions when parents, rulers and states have to be cruel in order to be kind.

On the subjective side there is little more to be added, beyond drawing out the connexion I have mentioned between St. Augustine's teaching and our Lord's summary of the Law. St. Augustine's fundamental principle is that Christians ought to be the best citizens because their religion makes them subordinate their private interests to the common good. How is it that Christians are able to do this? The answer is surely that by learning to love God with all his heart and mind and soul and strength a man learns to share God's interests in the world, to care for the growth of justice and brotherhood, of peace and goodwill among men. What the state has a right to look to the church for is a supply of citizens, of soldiers, neighbours, husbands, wives, parents, children, masters, slaves, rulers, judges and business men, each of whom, in his niche in society, can be depended upon to put the common good before the interests of himself, his family or his class (§ 15).

Up to this point there will doubtless be general agreement. The difficulties begin when we turn from the subjective to the objective side of the question and ask what particular acts or policies should be endorsed by the Christian as making for the common good. Here St. Augustine does not say much. This is consistent with his interpretation of *decens* as *aptum*. Ethical judgments must always be relevant to the circumstances. As Aristotle puts it, *ἐν τῇ αἰσθήσει ἡ κρίσις*. But he does express himself definitely on one question, that of war. Pacifism, he says, is not required by Christian ethics (§ 15). If this had been so the Gospels would have told soldiers seeking salvation to resign from the army, whereas on the contrary they go into details about how good Christian soldiers ought to behave themselves. Here he explicitly refers to the preaching of St. John the Baptist in St. Luke iii, 14. A modern Christian pacifist might reply that this ignores the point that the Baptist represents pre-Christian Jewish ethics which have been superseded by the revelation in Christ, that St. Augustine should remember what he had said at the beginning of his letter about the difference made by the coming of Christ and treated war as something that was meant to be discarded along with sacrifices. What he would have answered to this it is impossible to say. I think that in all probability the whole critical dissection of elements in the gospels on which the objection rests was alien to his way of thinking, that he treated the New Testament as a whole, contrasting it with the Old, and holding that it included the Baptist's teaching in such a way as to show that it was endorsed by the revelation in Christ.

However that may be, given his acceptance of war as having a place in Christian civilization, he has to face the question how to discriminate between wars that are right and wars that are wrong. It is interesting here to contrast his teaching with the later elaboration of the subject by scholastic theologians. These were conveniently summarized by Mr. Mascall in an article in *Theology* in January 1939 under six heads. For a war to be justifiable it must satisfy the following conditions:

(i) It must be declared by a sovereign authority to vindicate an undoubted right.

(ii) There must be no inter- or supra-national authority competent to decide the issue.

(iii) All possible attempts at arbitration must have been made and have failed.

(iv) It must be morally certain that the losses to the belligerents, to the world as a whole, and religion will not outweigh the advantages of winning.

(v) Only just sufficient force must be used, and the innocent and non-combatants must be spared all possible suffering.

(vi) There must be a considerable probability of winning.

The difficulties raised by this attempt at elaboration are an admirable illustration of the maxim that one can only decide what is *decens* by knowing circumstances. To take only the first and last of the six conditions, how would the resistance by General de Gaulle in 1940 meet the requirement that the war must be declared by a sovereign authority? How would that by Great Britain in the summer of 1940 and by Greece a little later meet the requirement that there must be a considerable probability of winning?

St. Augustine, perhaps wisely, contents himself with enunciating one fundamental principle, that the war must be waged in the interests of the enemy as well as of one's own country (§ 14). The Christian nation, like the Christian individual, must love its neighbours as itself, must care above all for the common good. The end for which the war must be waged is the binding together of victors and vanquished in bonds of justice and brotherhood. He seems to argue that where a people is subject to a corrupt and tyrannous government of what in these days we call an " aggressor " type, it may be the Christian duty of another nation to wage war against it in order that the better element among its citizens may be set free to live in justice and brotherhood with the rest of the world. In such circumstances, to inflict defeat upon the erring nation may

be the truest kindness, the real expression of love: "*si terrena ista res publica praecepta Christiana custodiat, et ipsa bella sine benivolentia non gerentur, ut ad pietatis institiaequa pacatam societatem victis facilius consulatur. nam cui licentia iniquitatis eripitur, utiliter vincitur, quoniam nihil est infelicius felicitate peccantium, qua poenalis nutritur impunitas et mala voluntas velut hostis interior roboratur.*"

This raises an extremely interesting question, one which may at any moment become a live issue. Would St. Augustine justify an unprovoked interference with another misgoverned state? If, for example, for the sake of argument, we may assume the worst about Franco's Spain, would it be the Christian duty of another state to declare war as an expression of brotherly love towards the general run of misgoverned Spaniards? St. Augustine gives no answer to this question in this letter, and I do not intend to try to invent one for him. I will just say this. The question raised is that of national sovereignty, and its discussion involves a right understanding of punishment. Rightly understood, punishment is the dissociation of itself by a community from acts done by its members. It can only exist in the relation between a community and members of itself. It is absurd to say that one man *ought not* on his own to punish another; he *can't*. Neither can one nation punish another, so long as they exist side by side as equal sovereign powers. One nation can only be justified in forcibly correcting the internal misdoings of another if it acts as the agent of an overarching community to which both belong. The League of Nations was one attempt to relate the hitherto independent sovereign powers in such a community; the United Nations is another. It would seem, therefore, that the use of his influence and his vote to support the policy of trying to make the United Nations Organization work is one of the duties of the Christian citizen that can be derived from St. Augustine's principle.

So much for the question of the possible interference by one state with the internal affairs of another. There remains the more usual case where war only breaks out at the point

when the aggressor nation becomes an immediate danger to another, and by its own infringement of another's sovereignty lays itself open to armed resistance. Here St. Augustine's principle is of the utmost importance to Christian citizens of the resistant countries. It implies that it is their duty steadily to keep before their governments and their fellow-countrymen the end for which the war must be waged, i.e. the good of the enemy equally with their own, the establishment of a peace which may be described as *pietatis iustitiaeque pacata societas*. They must be prepared to testify to the truth that punishment as the average man understands the word, confusing it with revenge and retaliation, is unchristian and destructive of the end at which the war must be aimed if its waging is to be justified. Another unchristian attitude would be to aim at the exploitation of victory for the purpose of securing continued commercial advantage to the victor in the post-war era.

The implications of St. Augustine's principle for us to-day, in respect of our relations with our defeated enemies, would therefore seem to be as follows. The principle would justify us in supporting the policy of taking the necessary steps to prevent the revival of their power for aggression. On this ground we could justify the occupation of Germany and Japan for as long as is necessary for that purpose, and the imposition of restrictions on their development of what is called "war potential." But all that is done must be free from anything that savours of the spirit of revenge or aims at exploitation for our own commercial interests. Whatever measures are proposed must be brought to the test of asking whether they will promote the end for which alone the war should have been fought, making it possible to welcome back the Germans and the Japanese into that *pietatis iustitiaeque pacatam societatem*.

We need not spend much time over the remaining sections of his letter in which St. Augustine argues *a posteriori*, asking Marcellinus and his companions to compare what fruits have actually been produced respectively by paganism and Christianity. The charge that the Roman state has been ruined by Christian Emperors is not, he says, substantiated by the evi-

dence; pagan writers themselves show that the corruption set in before the coming of Christianity (§ 16). What Christianity has done has been to restore through the Cross the virtues necessary for the welfare of the State. (§ 17). Pagan moralists cannot compete with Christ as benefactors to the state, yet they are far better than the pagan gods in whose honour are staged lewd games. Is Christianity to be blamed for having shown up these false gods? (§ 18). Surely decent misery is better than indecent luxury. Not that Christian morality does produce misery : the true God has given his chosen people sufficient prosperity to make it clear that it comes from him.

That briefly summarizes §§ 16-20. The Christian, then, because he loves God, must share God's care for the well being of his fellow men. Hence he cannot keep his religion out of politics: it is the Christian duty of the Christian citizen to work for such things as social justice and economic security. But he must never forget that for the Christian material things are of value only as raw material to be used for the embodiment of spiritual realities. Society should see that men are paid wages which enable them and their families to have lives worth living. But those lives will only be really worth living if the washing machines, refrigerators, wireless sets, visits to the cinema and the dogs, and the weekly flutter in the pools, are kept in their place as the stuff of which is being constructed the joyful play of mutual trust and brotherhood whereby men and women make of themselves, their souls and bodies, a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice to God. Thus the Christian citizen may find himself, on St. Augustine's teaching, one who sits loosely to political party ties. In the teeth of opposition from the right he will insist that certain economic measures are demanded by his religious convictions; he will not always be popular with the left when he insists that man does not live by bread alone. An interesting illustration of this is the following extract from an American periodical of August, 1942:

> "The social committee of the [Swedish] church recently conducted an inquiry into moral conditions in various parts of Sweden. The result has just been published in a book . . . based

on answers from more than 1,500 pastors and teachers, 250 district doctors, and 200 workers in social organizations. It has led to a crisis in the relations between the church and the workers' movement. The rapprochement between the two had become possible because of their common moral interests, and theological questions had been put into the background in order to facilitate co-operation. Now, however, it appears that the standards of the church and the workers' movement are so different, even in the moral field, that the preliminary understanding is endangered. . . The Social Democratic group were much disturbed when it was stated in the above book that sexual morality was unsatisfactory among the political youth organizations. In a press controversy on this subject, the Social Democratic party has unanimously stated that any further understanding with the church must be based on a recognition by the church of the free sexual morality which is customary in the workers' movement. The church has definitely rejected any such proposal. The final issue of the controversy is not yet apparent."—(Dezil G. M. Patrick in *The Christian Century*, Sept. 30, 1942.)

I have quoted this passage at length because it seems to me that *mutatis mutandis* it gives a close modern parallel to the situation reflected in St. Augustine's letter. Marcellinus and his companions are troubled by the thought that Christian otherworldliness will make men bad citizens, that paganism will better promote the worldly welfare of the state. St. Augustine replies that Christianity can both beat paganism at its own game of securing peace and prosperity, and can care for material welfare whilst rescuing men from the materialistic outlook which finds expression in the obscenities of the pagan stage. The experience of the Church of Sweden in 1942 shows that in the world of to-day the Christian citizen may be faced by what is essentially the same problem as his spiritual ancestors, and may be required by his faith to make essentially the same contribution to the life of the body politic.

GODFREY GOODMAN, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER

(*Continued*)

By GEOFFREY SODEN

On December 20, 1606, after a diaconate of three years, Goodman was promoted to the priesthood by his compatriot, the corpulent but not unspiritual Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London. On the same day the King gave him the rectory of Stapleford Abbots, near Romford. It was valued in 1680 at £16 5s. 0d., as compared with the neighbouring benefice of Stanford Rivers, valued at £26 13s. 9d. and held by Richard Mountague. (But Mountague wrote to Cosin in 1624 that Stapleford was worth more than £100 p.a.) Mountague, the *enfant terrible* of the Laudian revival, writing to Cosin, said also, "In Essex the major part about us are Puritans." A few weeks earlier Goodman had been granted the reversion of a canonry at Windsor, and shortly afterwards he received the sinecure rectory of Llandyssil, co. Montgomery, perhaps in exchange for Llansannan, which he now ceased to hold. This accumulation of preferments was probably not so effortless as it appears. Perhaps those same "Old Britains" who helped to push John Williams at Court in 1611, performed a like office for Goodman: two of the Thelwalls held posts about the King's person. Another friend at Court was Sir Robert Cocke, "my old host at Romford", who was clerk of the cheque to the Guard, and "got a good estate by his office." Moreover, Goodman had the ear of Bishop Andrewes, the King's favourite preacher at Court, who could introduce other preachers. Robert Cecil might have helped Goodman in gratitude for the services rendered to his father by the dean, but apparently he never did so,

as Goodman wrote, "I never had from him, nor do I ever expect from his, to the value of one farthing."

Stapleford Abbots was Goodman's home till 1620, though he lived mainly at Windsor after he succeeded to his canonry there in 1617.* His prospects were fair, he was a successful parish priest, he had congenial neighbours, his leisure was employed in literary work of his own choosing, and he had many contacts with the City and Court, in both of which he took a lively interest. It was the happiest time in his life. Fortunate, indeed, is the country parson of to-day, who can speak of his parishes with even a tithe of the satisfaction with which Goodman viewed his achievement during his 36 years' tenure of the benefices of Stapleford Abbots and West Ilsley. Ample means, and the possession of a charitable and conciliatory temper, probably helped him: to-day not even an angel from heaven could achieve anything half so spectacular without both: and the first would avail more than the last.

Two of Goodman's causes for thankfulness were, "I had 1st not a beggar . . . 7th on the Sunday no poor man dined at his own home, but was ever invited." A similar lavish hospitality was to reign at Gloucester, and it is worth noting that the seventeenth-century callousness, which was so marked in the treatment of idle vagabonds, and those outside the social framework, was, as Dr. David Mathew has remarked, not so much deliberate cruelty as a strict limitation of sympathies. People did care for their own dependants. Goodman's charity extended further. "To temper our passions according to the sweet harmony of the organ pipe, to practise the works of charity; and instead of the cry of the hounds, to hearken to the cries, to the blessings and prayers of the poor: assuredly we should find far greater joy and contentment . . . than now we reap in those outrageous, troublesome, dangerous and bloody sports, which wholly savour of cruelty." Not even George

* Le Neve, followed by the *D.N.B.* says that Goodman held the 7th stall at Westminster from 1607-1623. The Chapter Acts do not mention him. It was his kinsman, Hugh Goodman, that held the 7th stall from 1607-1623.

Herbert, who was after all a sprig of the nobility, went so far as that. Goodman loved children, birds, and animals, as his works show. Of patriotism, in the debased modern sense of the word, he was innocent, but he was a good European. He loved the soil, and hated to see it exploited, and its cultivators at the mercy of the needy and the greedy, who promoted enclosures in order to amass easy wealth.

Little trace remains of Goodman's regime at Stapleford Abbots. The registers are lost; the church was rebuilt in the nineteenth century, save for a chapel of seventeenth-century brickwork, which may belong to Goodman's time: the Jacobean pulpit may have been occupied by him. His letter to Laud, enumerating some of the wrongs that he had suffered at his hands (Aug. 30, 1642), says: "I never had but two cures of souls, and those of mean value, and but one at once, (it will appear I have done more to the church and chancel and churchyard, than the building of the chancel can be valued at). God is judge, and as I look to be saved, I have ever had priestly intentions. I did ever scorn to enrich myself by my church's means to the value of one farthing, but I have ever spent them in a priestly manner and according to the intent of the founder."

One of Goodman's neighbours, both at Windsor and at Stapleford Abbots, was that Richard Mountague, already alluded to, who was to become Bishop successively of Chichester and of Norwich. He was the Richard Hurrell Froude of the period, a man of profound learning and caustic pen, who took an impish delight in affronting the Nonconformist conscience. Goodman was of a very different temper, and not even their similar views could bring them together. Another neighbour was Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, with whom Goodman formed a lifelong friendship, whose fall he lamented, and to whose son he appealed after his own fall. Cranfield came of a city family, and Goodman writes: "I lived near London, where I had continual access to the city; there was not a merchant that broke, but from mine own experience I did inquire the cause of his breaking." An even greater neighbour was Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, James's "little

beagle." He had recently received Hatfield from the Queen in exchange for Theobalds, and Goodman, when visiting his house, was shown the green velvet bed-hangings which Cecil intended to bestow on her as a New Year's gift in 1608. Theobalds was quite near Stapleford Abbots, and Goodman became one of the Queen's chaplains, a post which could not have been very onerous, as the Queen, whose sympathies lay with Rome, never received the Anglican sacrament.

It was to the Queen that Goodman dedicated his *Fall of Man* in 1616. About the year 1608, probably for his M.A. degree, he had a public disputation against the Socinians. "I did resolve to examine every mystery of faith, and every miracle wrought in confirmation of those mysteries; and began with the first, proving the fall of Adam from Paradise by natural reason . . . and about 40 years since I set forth a book to that purpose; and although I say it, I had there the approbation and encouragement of those whom we did esteem the most learned men, as Bishop Andrewes, Bishop Overall, Bishop Mountaine and others." (Preface to *Trinity and Incarnation,* 1653). After this Goodman says that he went on to examine the rest of the mysteries and miracles, "and truly with these King James of blessed memory was acquainted, and did not dislike them."

The *Fall of Man* was elaborated from a sermon, probably from a sermon preached at Court. The late Dean Hutton says (*Dictionary of English Church History*) that Goodman "became a disciple of Andrewes, and a good preacher in his style", but there is no contemporary authority for this estimate. Goodman's style is the complete antithesis of the style of Andrewes, and the only writer who by any stretch of imagination can be called a contemporary to allude to Goodman's preaching is Dodd, who says: "He was reckoned one of the noted preachers of his time: and becoming known at Court on that account, he was further advanced" (*Church History* III, p. 258, 1742 ed.). To judge from his writings, which occasionally rise to considerable eloquence and fervour, and are always lucid and sometimes original, Goodman may well have possessed the Celtic gift of ready speech and musical utterance.

The reference to King James's approval strikes the note that was to prove decisive in Goodman's career. Lloyd, a contemporary, says he owed his advancement to Bishops Andrewes, Vaughan, and Williams. Vaughan died in 1607. Williams was a contemporary of Goodman, and one of his consecrators, but they were of opposite views, and there is no evidence to connect them. Goodman's theology was fully formed when he published his *Fall of Man,* and it is obviously the work of a definite Anglo-Catholic: indeed, Prynne accuses him of maintaining "some Popish errors in it."

It was fortunate for Goodman that he attracted and held the royal interest so early in the reign, before the King became set in his ways, and the avenues to promotion became more and more restricted, until they flowed only through Buckingham that "one pre-eminent pipe." In the earlier period James could find room to clasp more than one person "in the Embraces of his great love." Goodman's own ingenuous account of his relationship to the King bears on the face of it the stamp of truth. James was really kind-hearted, he had a long memory, and he was reliable: Goodman was equally kind-hearted, and although he possessed the impetuous temper of his race he never bore malice.

James, who was a Calvinist to his dying day, could hardly have been drawn to Goodman's theology: the attraction must have been physical. Goodman repaid the King by writing his *The Court of King James I* in old age in reply to that "Snarling Dog's-Letter", Sir Anthony Weldon's *Traditionall Memoirs,* 1650. Writing at a distance of many years, amidst the collapse of his own fortunes, Goodman was naturally uncritical of the lax atmosphere of the Jacobean Court, and tender to the memory of the King. Yet he does not hesitate to record his condemnation of James's treatment of his mother, and he placed his prospects in jeopardy more than once by being too outspoken with the King. Here is Goodman's own account of his relations with King James:

> "And though I confess I was more beholden to King James, than ever I was to all men in the world, and I doubt

not but God hath rewarded him for his goodness toward me, and I shall desire God that I may not live that day when I shall be wanting unto him all those Christian duties which are required from the living unto the dead, yet I must needs say that I did more often offend him than any man did of my degree. Once a good preferment was intended for me, and I had a message from him concerning it, yet I did then so much displease him that I lost the preferment; and when the King first saw the Archbishop, he complained to him of me, and caused the Archbishop to have a general meeting of all the clergy in England, and to give them special warning not to offend in that kind. Another time I did so much displease the King, that he set upon it to disgrace me; and then did the Prince and the Duke by his example. Another time I displeased him when he was in his bed; and yet notwithstanding, I must confess, he did affect me unto his dying day, and although I say it, and that few knew it, he would have hearkened unto me as soon as another man."

This passage is extremely revealing. It explains why Goodman, whose better qualities were responsible for his blazing indiscretions, was able to succeed with James I and Buckingham, but was foredoomed to fall foul of Charles I and Laud.

Goodman succeeded to his canonry at Windsor in 1617, and he was installed on December 20. He retained Stapleford Abbots, but Gabriel Salusbury, the son of his sister Catherine, who was ordained on December 21, 1617, became his curate there. The year before he had exchanged his sinecure of Llandyssil, which was valued at £14 in 1535, for the slightly better one of Ysgeifiog, which was worth £18 p.a. Windsor was to become his favourite place of residence, and he seldom missed a chapter meeting there, before his appointment to Gloucester. His predecessor had been Edmund Wilson, M.D., who was deprived after a year for not being in Orders. Anthony Maxey, the dean, had preceded Goodman at Westminster and Trinity. He had been also the highest bidder for the vacant see of Norwich, but not even their common dislike of tobacco

could induce James to give him a bishopric. Among the canons were men of such opposite views as John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, and Robert Johnson, the Puritan founder of Oakham and Uppingham Schools. Mountague had been installed just before Goodman. But the most interesting member of the chapter was Maxey's successor as dean, the restless *de Dominis, quondam* Archbishop of Spalatro, of whom Goodman has much to say, and from whom *inter alios,* (through Bishop Mountaine) Goodman derived his episcopal Orders.

There seems to have been little real devotion at Windsor during Goodman's early years there. Cosin, when visiting Mountague early in 1625, was taken for a Jesuit because "contrary to our fashion, you carried yourself so devoutly at Prayers." Mountague's own reverence to the altar and to the Holy Name was evidently the subject of comment. Yet Goodman speaks in glowing terms of Windsor, at a time when he had little cause to remember his own treatment there with gratitude. The Chapter seems to have been a model and indulgent landlord. "There was not a lord in England who had his estate better ordered and managed than the Church of Windsor." Goodman gives an eloquent panegyric on the services. "God was there continually and daily served like a God, with the greatest magnificence: we had all the means of devotion, as music, and outward ceremonies." He eulogizes the Order of the Garter, and the vows of chivalry that must have come with a certain unreality to the lips of some of the Jacobean knights. There was nothing novel about the St. George's Day procession of the Order of the Garter, the almuces and copes of the canons, the candles on the altar, and the reverences thereto: all were part of the established order, dating from the early years of Queen Elizabeth: only the magnificent altar plate made in Utrecht and Bishop Goodman's own benefactions were still to come.

At Windsor one could enjoy the delights of country life, and see from the terrace a view of the river, of hills and valleys, diversified with villages and fair houses. "I have myself spoken

with Italians upon the Terrace at Windsor, who looking about and seeing all the country, did compare it to Lombardy." There was a continual concourse of visitors, particularly when the Court was there, "strangers and foreign ambassadors . . . they did but wonder to see the state and magnificence of England." Goodman felt himself to be at the hub of events. We find him dining with the Earl of Exeter off an *olla podrida,* sent by Gondomar the Spanish Ambassador, consisting of "bacon, pheasant, partridge, chestnuts, pease, and many other things." There was also the advantage of easier access to the King. Buckingham was steadily moving to his position of solitary pre-eminence, and the Howard faction was about to be eclipsed. Their fall was heralded by that of Secretary Sir Thomas Lake, who had encouraged his daughter, Lady Roos, the wife of Lord Exeter's grandson, to charge her husband with having incestuous relations with Lady Exeter, his grandfather's young wife. But Goodman gives an additional reason for Lake's supersession. "Sir Thomas Lake had so applied him (*sc.* the King) with bills and reversions, that for the instant he had very little to bestow. Our Church of Windsor had nine reversions, and so many were to be placed in before the King could place one canon." Lake had himself offered a bribe to secure his post. Goodman, with the best of intentions, now took it upon himself to reprove the King's unwisdom in selling and giving away land, "whereby he did not only sell his rent, but he sold his sovereignty." "For the impoverishing of England, truly I did once speak with King James about it when he was in bed, upon this occasion, that the rents of land were fallen; and he was then somewhat angry . . . he could not be charged with impoverishing the kingdom, but his time being a time of peace we fell to luxury and riot." Goodman perhaps did not see that it was this very policy of peace, which it owed to James's wisdom, that was enriching the country. The Crown, however, was becoming more and more impoverished, since it was denied its proper share of the multiplying wealth, and was steadily divesting itself of its ancient resources, while it had at the same time to

maintain the expanding public services out of the diminishing revenues of a feudal magnate. Between the ancient popular monarchy, and the new aristocracy that had established itself on the ruin of the monasteries, there was a real divergence of interest: at present it was masked, because the Crown still had something left to bestow; the "Venetian oligarchy", putting down one puppet king and setting up another, ruling through its own unrepresentative committee, Parliament, was still to come.

Goodman was now in the way of high preferment. Sir Christopher Perkins, the ex-Jesuit Dean of Carlisle, who kept his vow of virginity, though he was married to Buckingham's aunt, "offered", says Goodman, "to resign unto me his deanery of Carlisle, which I refused because I expected a better." But Goodman, though it never occurred to him that to solicit preferment might be morally wrong—a view that one may suspect to have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance except perhaps by the first generation of the Tractarians—had a loftier standard than many of the men of his time. He says, "because mention here is made of much simony, and of pensions and the like, give me leave, for the discharge of my own conscience, and in thankfulness to God and the memory of King James, to relate a truth and so let God be merciful to my soul as I shall relate nothing but the truth. Being a little known unto King James, when I never used any means unto him, nor to my knowledge did ever any man speak one word in my behalf, then did King James in a morning send John Packer unto me, to tell me, that his Majesty had a full resolution to prefer me, and to bring me to some good place in the church; and lest his Majesty should forget me, he had therefore commanded Buckingham to put him in mind of me; and lest Buckingham, having many suitors, should forget me, the King had sent him unto me to engage himself unto me that he would solicit my business. Hereupon I never came unto John Packer, but I had instantly access; I never proposed anything unto him, but I had a true and real answer; no dilatory or complimental words." This was in 1618. John Packer, the Chiffinch of the

period, was the keeper of the King's privy seal, and, in turn, private secretary to Somerset and Buckingham. He was at Windsor on St. George's Day, 1618, when he appeared "very formally in his blue coat and a chain of diamonds, which I know not where he borrowed." He exhibited Puritan leanings, and eventually threw in his lot with "the saintly faction" during the civil war. As an Old Westminster he had a link with Goodman. How necessary the King's elaborate scheme for Goodman's advancement was, is illustrated in Valentine Cary's appointment to Exeter in 1621. He happened to hear of the former bishop's death just as he was leaving Court: he went at once to Buckingham, and the two went straight to the King, "who appointed Cary before other could hear of the vacancy."

Goodman goes on to say, "the year following I displeased his Majesty, and thereby I lost a very good preferment," (1619). "The year after that I had the deanery of Rochester, which was a very good preferment, and very agreeable to my disposition, for I did love seamen, and those of the King's navy were my special friends . . ." "When I came to give his Majesty thanks, his Majesty did seem to be more joyful in giving than I could express in receiving it, using these words—that I should not give a farthing." Like his master, Andrewes, Goodman could therefore boast that he was free from the taint of simony. It was a boast that few could make in that reign, not even Laud could say that he had "never used any means" unto the King. James, who found such difficulty in refusing anything, only promoted Laud at the joint importunity both of Williams and Buckingham. Laud had "fastened on the Lord Marquess to be his Mediator, whom he had made sure by great observances."

Goodman's predecessor at Rochester died on December 27, 1620, and Goodman was installed almost immediately, on January 4, 1621. He was very happy at Rochester. Buckeridge, the bishop, and Tillesley, the archdeacon, a great friend of Mountague, who praises him highly, were both High Churchmen of the Laudian school. (The *D.N.B.* says, wrongly, that Tillesley died in 1621: he died in 1624). Laud in his visitation of 1633 had to order that the altar should be

placed at the east end and a fair rail to cross the choir, as in other cathedrals, so it is safe to suppose that Goodman pursued a cautious policy there. Goodman's affection for the Navy has already been mentioned. He inherited at Rochester, and bequeathed to his successor, a curious piece of litigation, which illustrates how the Stuarts were fleeced by the nobility, though in this particular affair there was a happy issue, since it was proved that the King had granted what was not his own. Rochester possessed a hospital of St. Bartholomew, of which the affairs were administered by the Chapter. The lands of the hospital were let to a number of tenants, who had increased their value by building houses on them. Among the tenants was Peter Pett, a familiar name. Goodman says, "Walking one day in Chatham, where the King's navy is, one said to me, 'I will tell you a wonder. All these goodly houses that you see (there were some 14 or 16 of them, and houses fit for knights to dwell in), they are all made of chips.' His meaning was that the officers of the navy have nothing but chips for their fees, yet they took the best timber which came for the repairing the navy for the building of their houses. These houses did belong to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, whereof I was then patron." The decorous James Hay, soon to be Earl of Carlisle, had obtained from the King a grant of the hospital as a reward for his services. Hay granted it to three others. Meanwhile Dr. Scott, Goodman's predecessor in the deanery, had given Hay's legal representatives £20, and promised them more, if they would settle his and his successors' title for the benefit of the poor brethren of the hospital. One of the tenants, Sir Richard Bingley, also gave a bribe to Hay's legal representative to convey the hospital to his assigns. The lawyer, who happened to be Sir John Townsend, Surveyor to H.M.'s Navy, supported Bingley, who was probably the higher bidder, and proceeded to offer the tenants long leases. All but one—including Pett—continued to pay rent to the hospital. Bingley sued both them and the Chapter. Bingley never dared to let the witnesses be examined, but he refused to pay rents to the hospital, "and the matter so depending, Mr. Dr. Scott died and Mr. Dr. Goodman him

succeeded, and no further proceedings were had therein: but a petition was by Mr. Dr. Goodman then Dean, and Dr. Tillesley, one of the prebendaries . . . delivered to the then house of Parliament." It was not until Sir R. Bingley died, and Goodman had gone to Gloucester, that the matter was settled in favour of the hospital. It cost the chapter £140, but the tenants footed the bill in fines. It is pleasant to be able to record that Pett and his three supporters had their fines remitted. Some of the "officers" drew the line at stealing the King's timber: Bingley was prepared to appropriate both the houses and the land they stood on. Pett was no doubt a relative of Phineas Pett, who had built the Prince Royal "of decaying timber and green unseasoned stuff", and kept the best timber for his own use. When Buckingham became Lord High Admiral the peculation came to an end, and Goodman's "familiar friend" Captain Norris (Thomas Norreys), one of Phineas Pett's "greatest enemies", became Surveyor of the Navy, "as able and as wise a man as any was in Kent."

In his complaint to Laud, explaining why he alone among the bishops confined in the Tower had not said goodbye to the Archbishop, Goodman recalls his days at Rochester (August 30, 1642). "Rochester is but half a day's journey from London, it is in your way to Canterbury, your nearest kinsman and favourite is dean there, who may know things as well as myself. I will make it appear that I did more good to that church than ever I received good from that church (God bless the foundation)." (The "nearest kinsman" was Thomas Turner, who married Windebanke's daughter: the *D.N.B.* ignores his relationship to Laud.)

During his four years at Rochester, Goodman published his *Religion of Dumb Creatures*. He describes himself also as a "diligent student in Sir Robert Cotton's library", at this time, when he was working on his *magnum opus*, those "Annels", starting from the year 1517, which "miscarried" during the Rebellion. "I had composed a great volume, which I did forbear to print in this regard; I thank God for it. I did never flatter any man, and I made a conscience to relate the truth; and

doing it I should have cast very foul aspersions upon some great families . . . whereupon I did resolve, that it should not be published, till after my death . . ." It was a wise precaution if Goodman's opinion of Ridley (quoted by Fuller), is a specimen of what the book contained. "Indeed in his own discourse he would be constantly complaining of our late reformers, and I heard him once say in some passion that Bishop Ridley was a very *odd* man, to whom one presently returned, 'He was an odd man, indeed, my lord; for all the Popish party in England could not match him with his equal in Learning and Religion'." Fuller admits that Goodman was "no contemptible historian." But Goodman was never completely immersed in books: his historical sense enabled him to take an intelligent interest in the present. On the Infanta's birthday in 1623, while Charles and Buckingham were away in Spain, "I did mark and observe King James, how he did carry himself upon that day, and truely he was wonderfully joyful—whereby I did conjecture with myself that it might be the day of the marriage."

The story of how Goodman, at the comparatively early age of 42, came to be appointed to the see of Gloucester, is worth considering in some detail. There had been only two other episcopal appointments in 1624, when Gloucester fell vacant. The first had been the election of John Hanmer to St. Asaph on January 20, 1624. It was one of the poorest bishoprics, being valued at £187 in 1680. The second was the election of Richard Senhouse, Dean of Gloucester, to Carlisle, on September 26, 1624. Carlisle was worth £531, a better bishopric, but both were remote. It is difficult to see the hand of Laud, or Buckingham, or indeed of anyone else but the King, in these somewhat colourless nominations of two former royal chaplains. Laud's famous list, under the headings O(rthodox) and P(uritan) was not compiled until after the accession of Charles I in 1625.

Gloucester fell vacant on October 20, 1624, by the death of Miles Smith. It was a Puritan diocese, with a Puritan bishop, who had reacted somewhat mildly to Laud's innovations and brusqueries, when he went there as dean in 1616. Also it was

the poorest English bishopric, being worth only £315 p.a. But it was not too remote and the sands were running out. The King had had to be carried in a chair at the St. George's Day procession at Windsor the year before, and that not too clean hand, of which Donne was to write the epitaph, was soon to lie stilled in death. On October 30 Mountague wrote to Cosin: "Our Dr. Goodman I know would have Gloucester, and is gone up about it on Wednesday last, but sent his man instantly upon report of the death of Miles Smith." But there were others in the running. Mountague himself, relying on Buckingham's promise of preferment, and Laud's influence, was prepared to accept Gloucester or any other bishopric. Failing himself, he would prefer Dr. Theodore Price, "who is much talk'd of, and altogether at my Lord Keepers." Price, a canon of Westminster, was Williams's candidate, but Williams was no more successful in getting him Gloucester than in his earlier attempt to get St. Asaph and his later attempt to get Armagh for him, and Price, on his death-bed in 1632, became a Roman Catholic.

When Goodman sent his man (probably the same worthy Mr. Charles Harcourt to whom Goodman bequeathed 40/- in his will) to court (Goodman pronounced the name Harrcourt), he no doubt journeyed to Royston and saw Mr. Packer. Mr. Packer explained the situation to Harcourt: it was not all plain sailing: important interests were involved: it might be necessary to give the vacant see to another. The Prince and Buckingham, who were both at Royston, were interested.

To unravel the complicated cat's cradle of intrigue and counter-intrigue, it is necessary to appreciate the general situation. All was not too well between "Steenie", "Baby Charles" and the King. Buckingham and Charles had returned from Spain, in 1623, determined to break off the Spanish match. The country, always ready to be whipped up into a Protestant frenzy, was with them. It was the only taste of popularity that either of them was ever to enjoy. For a time James held out. On March 23 he capitulated to Buckingham's threat to tell the Parliament that he was well enough to speak with the King of Spain's instruments (the Spanish Ambassa-

dors for the marriage), though not with his own subjects. But Carondelet, Inojosa's private secretary, managed at last to get a private interview with the King, when he alleged that Buckingham was using his power over the son to supplant the father. It was Williams, anxious to regain favour with Buckingham, who reported the interview to him and the Prince. They were curious to know how Williams had obtained his information. Carondelet, he explained, "kept one of that Gentle Craft." "She hath well earned a piece of Plate or two from me. Though the Devil make her a Sinner, I may make good use of her sin." "Yea, do you deal in such ware?" asked the Prince. "Faith, Sir", replied Williams, "I never saw her face." Charles was too fastidious to approve such methods, and Williams was soon out of favour again.

Buckingham's position was still precarious. The King might at any time defeat his project for a war with Spain by dissolving Parliament. Gondomar's confessor, Lafuente, whose baggage had been plundered by the Duke's order, was on his way from Spain, accompanied by Bristol, the English Ambassador, and Arthur Brett. Brett was perhaps the greatest danger. He was a distant relative of Buckingham, on whom the King's roving eye had rested rather too long for Buckingham's peace of mind. Furthermore, he was the brother-in-law of Lionel Cranfield, Goodman's friend. Cranfield had been the champion of the Spanish party in the Council, and Cranfield was now in the Tower. "You are a fool, Steenie, you are making a rod with which you will be scourged yourself", the prescient old King had said, when Buckingham impeached Cranfield. Bristol was never allowed to see the King again, but Lafuente reached him, and boldly preferred his charges against the Duke. On April 21 Buckingham persuaded the King to appoint a Council of War. The next day Lafuente told the King that he was conspiring to bring the crown into his own family. The King was at last really frightened. He burst into tears and said, "Steenie, Steenie, wilt thou kill me?" Buckingham had been warned by Williams of what was coming, and he wisely refused to accompany James to Windsor until

his innocence had been proved. The Council heard the charges on May 2, and pronounced them too vague to establish anything. Buckingham's subsequent breakdown brought the King to his bedside, and the friendship was, to all outward appearances, renewed. Buckingham's next madcap scheme was the French match, to which James agreed on September 7. Parliament was prorogued till February, to prevent possible interference. At the beginning of October, Buckingham fell ill again, on October 5 he was "seeking health at Wallingford House", on October 11 he was in London, and on October 13 he left with Charles for Royston. Laud was ill, and he was probably comforted in his affliction by the knowledge that his rival, Williams, was also sick, and therefore harmless. In fact, Williams was doing good, as Laud would have acknowledged, for he was doing his utmost to baulk another dangerous scheme of the Duke's.

Buckingham, in spite of being, as Goodman expressed it, "Catholicly inclined", and in spite of Laud's influence over him as his confessor, was coquetting with the Puritans. He needed money for the war against Spain and he needed support. Dr. Preston, the Master of "pure Emmanuel" and the rising hope of the Puritans, was prepared to offer him both on certain conditions. Preston was an extraordinary character who just missed eminence. He was the embodiment of all the virtues which, in a Jesuit, the Puritans would have been the first to condemn, but which, in one of themselves, they united to acclaim. He read St. Thomas Aquinas "as the Barber cut his hairs, and when any fell upon the place he read, he would not lay downe his booke, but blow it off." Close-mouthed, a master of dissimulation, a great pipe smoker and caster of horoscopes, Preston was a "perfect politician", with a "perfect command of his passion." He was already chaplain to the Prince, and received intelligence of the Court "through the Scotch especially of His Highness' Bedchamber." His proposal to Buckingham was a simple one: let the cathedrals and collegiate churches be dissolved, and the money that was wasted on the "fat, lazy, and unprofitable drones", might be used for the war.

Williams, who was omniscient, defeated the project. The honest Mr. Packer, another Puritan, was a supporter of Preston's.

"Dr. Preston, who was offered any Bishoprick he would resolve on, and told at Royston by the Duke of Buckingham that ye Bishoprick of Gloucester was then voyd, contends with Mr. Middlethwaite for to be Lecturer of Trinity Church." "Sir Edward Conway, then Secretary, invited Dr. Preston to supp, and after supper told him that the King had ordered him to tell him that if he would give over his psuance of that lecture . . . he should make his choyce of any other preferment . . . But the Dr.'s end was to do good, not to get goods, the King's to make him useless, and divide him from the Puritans." Preston still retained his interest with the Duke after the King's death, when "the Prince, and Duke, and Dr. Preston, in coaches shut down", hastened to Whitehall, and the Duke "went so far as to nominate the Doctor to be Lord Keeper."

Packer was perhaps not so much a friend as Goodman supposed. Secretary Conway was wholly the Duke's man. Goodman himself now hurried to Royston, on the Wednesday before October 30. Meanwhile James, apparently of his own volition, since Buckingham was no friend of Hall's, had offered the bishopric to a respected scholar of Calvinist leanings, Joseph Hall. Perhaps James had not been informed by Packer that Goodman wanted Gloucester. Be that as it may, Hall, who accepted Exeter in 1627, "with much humble deprecation, refused the see of Gloucester earnestly proferred unto me." Goodman apparently then arrived on the scene, and James, all other candidates being eliminated, redeemed his promise and at the same time did not displease Buckingham. Goodman, who speaks always of "the good Duke", "though I was never his ghostly father", has a curious passage about him in a letter to Cranfield in 1631. He speaks of "the duty and respect which I owe unto the memory of the good Duke (whose soul is now with God, and whom I doubt not but God hath rewarded for me and many other Churchmen)." Whatever may be the meaning of this somewhat cryptic phrase, it is clear that

Goodman, as he himself says, "never used any means unto the King"—all he did was to claim the King's promise—though it was somewhat disingenuous of him to say in after years that the see of Gloucester was "forced upon him by King James, upon condition to remove him speedily to a better." Perhaps his reference to Buckingham has to do simply with the fact that there was a mistake in one of the legal documents, "which I did fear was wilfully done, only to draw on a fee; then the secretary had for mending those words 20 pieces; then I sent a piece of plate to Buckingham, which I think cost me between 40 and 50 pounds. This he would not receive, but sent it back again, and rewarded the messenger with 3 pieces."

Goodman's appointment to Gloucester came only just in time: he had nearly missed the tide. He, the youngest bishop and the last to be appointed by King James, was to outlive both Charles and Laud, and to become "the ancientest bishop of the province." Unlike the percipient Andrewes and the prophetic Nicholas Ferrar, Goodman seems to have had no premonition of the coming troubles. Charles was unpredictable, enigmatic, aloof, where his father had been calculable, intelligible and accessible. Neither Williams nor Goodman were successful in adjusting themselves to the atmosphere of the new reign. Williams revelled in the baroque atmosphere of the Jacobean court. He was a typical magnifico of the high renaissance, the English Richelieu. His subtlety made him overreach himself, for he was constitutionally incapable of comprehending the simpler processes of a Laud or of a Charles. Goodman's failure was due to his virtues rather than to his defects, but he too belonged to an age more easy and profuse, and the strenuous idealism of the new reign was equally foreign to his outlook.

MS. SOURCES FOR ENTIRE ARTICLE.

British Museum. MS. 985, ff. 226-228; Sloane MS. 1199, f. 92b, Add, Ch. 5845; Egerton MS. 2182, f. 3. Add MS. 35832, f. 155, and 34727, f. 96. B.M. Catalogue 190, g. 12, No. 15, and 11055, ff. 131a. Harleian MS. 6424.

Public Record Office. S. P. Dom. Jas. I and Chas. I, *passim.* P.R.O. Transcripts from Rome Archives, Series I (Trans. 9), and Series II (Trans. 10).

Society of Genealogists. Pedigree of Goodman by W. Middleton.

Windsor. Register of Chapter Acts, from p. 96, 1617-1638.

Bodleian. MS. e. Museo. 2.

Trinity College, Cambridge. Pontificale Romanum, notes by Goodman. C. 6, 3.

De la Warr MSS., Knole. Correspondence between Goodman, and James Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, etc.

West Ilsley. Church Registers.

Westminster. Registers of St. Margaret's Church.

Westminster Abbey. Chapter Minute Books, and MSS.

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. MSS. of Salusbury of Bachymbyd Correspondence between Goodman and William Salusbury. Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers.

Ruthin. Church Registers from 1592.

Llanrhydd. Church Registers.

Wills. Godfrey Goodman, Senior. P.C.C. 14, Spencer.
Simon Croxton. 7 Watson P.C.C.
Katherine Croxton. 37 Windsor P.C.C.
Edward Goodman. 2 Loftus P.C.C.
Gawen Goodman. 74 Skynner P.C.C.
Sir Thomas Exmewe. 3 Jankyn P.C.C.

Many contemporary printed sources have also been used.

THE PAPACY AND THE DIOCESE OF HEREFORD, 1307-1377

By J. T. DRIVER

THE following essay is an attempt to deal with certain aspects of the administration of the Medieval Church during one of the most critical periods in its history. Nineteenth century historians were prone to regard the Medieval Papacy as corrupt from the beginning, and thus, in analysing the causes of the Reformation, to read history backwards. A. L. Smith was one of the first scholars to react against this view and to point out that many of the corrupt practices of the later Mediaeval Church actually began as reforms. This is true of the notorious system known as papal provisions which, beginning as part of a reforming movement in the twelfth century, resulted, consequent upon the acceptance by Christendom of the *plenitudo potestatis* (or absolute power of the Pope) in the following century, in the papal claim to dispose of all benefices to the frequent exclusion of the right of ordinary patrons. By the fourteenth century, papal provisions had become an integral part of the complex financial and legal system of the papal Curia.[1]

During the first seventy years of the fourteenth century, the papal court was in exile and virtual captivity at Avignon, with the result that the Avignonese Papacy fell under the influence of the French Monarchy, and this naturally caused suspicion between the English and papal courts. A further consequence of the exile was the loss to the papacy of the revenues of its

[1] For fuller discussion see: A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913) and J. Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, I (Berlin, 1903). For the workings of papal provisions see: G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions* (Blackwell, 1935); J. T. Ellis, *Anti-papal Legislation in Medieval England* (Washington, 1930), and F. W. Maitland, *Roman Canon Law and the Church of England* (London, 1898).

Italian estates and this, together with the extravagance of certain popes, notably Clement VI, drove the Avignonese popes to traffic on an unprecedented scale in benefices and multifarious indulgences. In England, the clergy were impoverished by the incessant demands of Pope and King; the laity, on the other hand, viewed the papal officials with distrust and looked upon them as agents of their French enemies. Thus it was that during the fourteenth century anti-papal feeling became intensified in England; and this was registered by the passing of the *Statutes of Provisors* and *Praemunire*.[2] The effects of these measures have been the subject of much controversy. Following the writings of the medieval chroniclers, Bishop Stubbs held that the *Statute of Provisors* was evaded from the first, and was, in effect, a "dead letter." This attitude was challenged by W. T. Waugh who wrote that "the effect of the *Statute of Provisors* has never been properly investigated. But even a somewhat hasty examination of the *Calendars of Papal Registers* shows that at various times, especially after the *Council of Constance*, the control of the Pope over English preferment became very slight."[3]

Although it is beyond question that the prestige of the Roman Church suffered immensely both in England and on the continent as a result of the increasing corruption accentuated by the policy of the Avignonese popes, yet there are reasons to believe that historians have sometimes been too sweeping in their condemnation, and have rarely verified the prejudiced statements of medieval chroniclers from the available documents; while the decline in Christian standards which certainly took place was not entirely the result of papal policy, but often the result of royal, aristocratic or episcopal misuse of the rights

[2] An earlier (but transitory) outbreak of anti-papal feeling had taken place in Henry III's reign. *Cf.* H. Mackenzie, *The Anti-Foreign Movement in England*, 1231-32, in *Haskins Anniversary Essays* (New York, 1929).

[3] W. T. Waugh, *The Great Statute of Praemunire* in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. XXXVIII (1922). *Cf.* W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, III vols. (Oxford, 1874-8), Vol. III, p. 355.

of appointment. The extent of the corrupting influence of papal interference in diocesan life, and the effect of the anti-papal Statutes in England can, in fact, only be measured by other methods, namely, by a detailed examination of the position in all the dioceses in the kingdom. By analysing and comparing the entries in the papal and episcopal registers, it should be possible to gain a concrete idea of the system of papal provisions and to assess its effect on diocesan life, organization and administration; this task I propose to attempt in the case of Hereford, hoping thereby to provide an initial study of the position in a single diocese, which may, perhaps, serve as an example of the value of similar local studies for the fuller appreciation and understanding of medieval ecclesiastical history.

One factor in the situation was the character of the bishops who occupied the see of Hereford during the period 1305-78. But an examination of the episcopal appointments throughout this time, complicated in many cases by political considerations, would demand a separate study;[4] and for present purposes, therefore, attention will be confined to the appointment of the lesser dignitaries, canons, prebendaries and parish priests, concluding with an analysis of papal indulgences issued to clerks beneficed in the diocese. By considering each of these categories separately, it should be possible not merely to arrive at a general assessment of the degree of papal interference in diocesan life and administration, but also to discover what aspects of the same were particularly subject to papal interference.

We start our analysis with the cathedral dignitaries.[5] Five deans held office during the reigns of Edward II and Edward

[4] *Cf.* W. E. L. Smith, *Episcopal Appointments and Patronage in the reign of Edward II* (Chicago, 1938). Also, Miss K. Edwards, *The Political Importance of English Bishops during the reign of Edward II, E.H.R.*, Vol. LIX (1944).

[5] There are lists of and references to dignitaries, not always accurate, in: Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. T. D. Hardy, III vols. (Oxford, 1854); John Duncumb, *Collections Towards the History of Hereford* (Hereford, 1804); A. T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford*, S.P.C.K. (1924).

III, one of whom, John Aquablanca, the last of a long line of Savoyards to be beneficed in the diocese, was already in possession when Edward II came to the throne. Of the remaining four deans the Pope was certainly responsible for the appointment of two, and confirmed the appointment of a third. The interest which the papacy took in the deanery was, therefore, appreciable, the explanation doubtless lying in the importance and monetary value of the dignity, and possibly in the need to have some reliable personage in possession. However, the papacy was not alone in encroaching upon the bishop's rights of presentation, for sometimes we find the Crown employing the system of papal provision to secure the promotion of its servants; while sometimes it would present its nominees directly to the bishop, thereby interfering with the claims of the diocesan to exercise free control over clerical appointments. The promotion of Stephen de Ledbury to the deanery of Hereford in 1323 is an instance where the papacy supported the royal candidate.[6]

Evidence for the precentors of the catheral, while more scanty, is sufficient to enable fairly accurate deductions to be made. During a period of seventy years, ten new appointments were carried out, but of these only one was certainly the result of papal intervention. This was in 1342, when a certain Thomas of Winchester was appointed on the petition of his friend and patron, William, Bishop of Norwich.[7] At the date of his appointment Thomas was too young to be in Orders and so received a papal dispensation; in addition, he was allowed to be absent from England to study at Bologna for five years.[8] Here is a clear case where the provincial hierarchy employed the system of papal provisions and indulgences to promote the interests of their friends and servants. One case of royal

[6] It is possible that the Pope appointed the royal nominee to appease Edward II, because (it will be remembered) the Pope had already appointed Orleton against Edward's wishes; *cf.* below, p. 37.

[7] *C.P.L.*, III, p. 31, and *Cal. Papal Petitions*, I, p. 73.

[8] *ibid.*

interference with the precentorship deserves mention, if for no other reason than that it illustrates how political motives played their part in ecclesiastical appointments and that interference did not come from the papacy alone. Richard Havering had been precentor of Hereford for more than ten years when he was suddenly removed from office (March, 1330) by one of the regents during Edward III's minority; the dignity was conferred first upon John de Hoo of Exeter,[9] and thereafter upon John de Ashton;[10] later in the year, however, when Edward III had obtained full control over the government and had removed the Earl of Warwick from power, Havering was restored to office. It is thus probable that Havering's removal and restoration were the results of political intrigues.

Papal interference in the appointment of the cathedral treasurers was confined to an abortive attempt in 1330-31 to secure the office for a certain John de Chaumbre (or Camera), who was backed also by the Crown against the episcopal nominee, Thomas de Boley. The outcome of this conflict is unknown, but it seems possible that both parties resigned their pretensions, for in 1333 an entirely new appointment was made in the person of Henry de Shipton. There is, however, an additional interest attached to this case. It is well known that medieval kings used the Church to pay for secular administration. Now John de Chaumbre was certainly attached to the household of Queen Philippa;[11] and so the attempt to provide him with an office in Hereford Cathedral was probably an instance of the indirect means employed by the Crown to provide an income for officials in its service. Apart, then, from this isolated case the bishop seems to have retained full control over appointments to the treasurership. But it is worth while recalling that the office was worth only ten marks per annum as compared with forty marks for the deanery and the same for the precentorship; it is, therefore, possible that those whose pro-

[9] Le Neve, p. 485.

[10] *ibid.*

[11] *C.P.L.* II, p. 323.

fession it was to petition the Pope for lucrative livings might not have considered such a poorly-paid office worth the efforts and expense entailed.

A more active role was played by the papacy in the appointments to the chancellorship—an office worth some thirty marks in the fourteenth century—for out of seven new appointments, three were the result of papal provision. A further point of interest lies in the fact that all these appointments occurred within the same decade, 1340-50. Two of the three providees, Robert de Wynneferthing (appointed 1342) and John de Aumbresbury (appointed 1344) were already holding benefices in the diocese at the time of their promotion, and both were pluralists;[12] the third papal providee, Richard de Wymundewold, was a Doctor of Canon Law and an advocate in the Roman Curia.[13] It is perhaps significant that of these papal providees two already had connexions with the diocese, while the third possessed high academic qualifications, which would be of service to a diocesan chancellor. It is, therefore, fair to conclude that in this case the choice of the papacy was not injudicious.

The papacy interfered little with the bishop's right to appoint the archdeacons of Hereford and Salop, perhaps because these officials were the bishop's executive officers whose duties, unlike those of the dean, precentor, treasurer and chancellor, were not confined to cathedral administration, but extended into every parish of the diocese. There were, indeed, two cases of papal interference, but in both it would appear that the papal appointment was in accordance with the established rules of canon law, and did not, therefore, constitute an unprovoked attack upon the bishop's rights. John de Ross (later Bishop of Carlisle) resigned the archdeaconry of Salop in 1318 because, without papal sanction, he had accepted an office held by an undispensed pluralist; Henry de Schorne, archdeacon of Hereford (1303-17), possessed a canonry and prebend of Hereford

[12] For Chancellor Robert—*C.P.L.* II, p. 361, and III, pp. 58 and 75. For Chancellor John—*C.P.L.*, III, p. 183.

[13] *C.P.L.*, III, p. 75, also *Cal. Pap. Pet.* I, p. 13.

worth £27, in addition to livings in other dioceses, but was compelled to resign the archdeaconry after the promulgation of John XXII's bull *execrabilis*—a decree designed to cut down the abuses of holdings in plurality; according to new canon law the filling of livings thus vacated belonged to the Pope.

In the light of the above review it cannot be claimed that the papacy made a deliberate attempt to control the higher clergy of the diocese of Hereford during the fourteenth century; although it would certainly appear that Canon Bannister under-estimated papal interference when he concluded that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries only one dean, John Harold (1380-93), was a papal providee.[14] This becomes clear if we summarize the evidence statistically. In the space of seventy years under review, when papal interference was at its height, there are only nine clear cases of papal provision to the major offices of the diocese in not one of which a foreigner was concerned; against this, episcopal appointments numbered fourteen definite cases, and three doubtful ones. Royal interference was, indeed, even slighter, four cases being recorded of which only three resulted in the acquisition of benefices for the King's nominees. These latter cases should, however, be borne in mind, if the papal position is to be viewed in perspective. We have already seen how the Crown interfered in ecclesiastical appointments, sometimes by direct presentation to the bishop. Nor should it be forgotten that some of the bishops used their powers in a secular way. Bishops Orleton and Trillek stood out among fourteenth century Bishops of Hereford in this respect, for both liberally distributed offices to their relatives.[15] Viewed in this light, it would be hard to class papal interference as abnormal in scale.

[14] A. T. Bannister, *op. cit.* p. 80.

[15] *Cf.* the offices bestowed by Bishop Orleton upon his brother, Thomas—in 1317 he became General Proctor of the see; in 1320, was given the sinecure prebend of Ledbury; and in 1322, obtained the chancellorship of the cathedral. *Cf.* also the case of Thomas Trillek, brother of Bishop John. Thomas held prebendal portions in Bromyard, Moreton, Holgate and Overhall in Ledbury, in addition to livings in other dioceses, while in 1353 he became Dean.

The relative infrequency of papal appointments to the major dignitaries of the cathedral church is significant; but, as F. W. Maitland stated, canonries and prebends were " the staple product of the papal market ";[16] and it is, therefore, in this sphere that papal intervention in its acutest form is to be sought. What are the results if we survey the material, episcopate by episcopate ?

During the last twelve years of the episcopate of Bishop Swinfield (1305-17) some five papal mandates were issued conferring Hereford canonries and prebends, but of these only two were certainly executed and their holders put in possession of the prebends. On the other hand, the bishop was responsible for five appointments; and a lay patron for one; the King at this period appears to have exercised no influence whatsoever.

Richard Swinfield's successor was Adam Orleton (1317-27), a famous antagonist of Edward II. Orleton was created bishop contrary to the wishes of the King in 1317, and throughout his episcopate maintained a firm control over clerical appointments in his diocese, despite the fact that he had received his office by papal provision. It is significant that the papacy attempted to increase its influence at this time, for eleven mandates of provision were issued; only five, however, obtained benefices for their holders. Provisions by the King or nobles were also few, but there are traces of the influence of Queen Isabella, the friend of Mortimer and Orleton; for example, one of her clerks, William Boudon, was dispensed to retain his pluralities after Isabella had petitioned Pope John XXII on Boudon's behalf. On the other hand, there is an interesting case of a disputed appointment which caused friction between Edward II and the Pope.[17] Yet the influence of the Pope, Queen and nobles pales before that of the bishop, whose astuteness in playing off one party against another would seem to account for his strong position, certainly in this sphere of diocesan life. Episcopal

[16] *Roman Canon Law and the Church of England*, p. 67.

[17] *Cf.* the case of John Denton, a royal nominee, who met with papal opposition—*Reg. Orleton* (Canterbury and York Society, 1908), pp. 326-7.

appointments during Orleton's time numbered twenty-one, and his attitude was characterized by his advancement of his relatives, three of whom were given posts under him.[18]

The seventeen years of Thomas Charlton's episcopate (1327-44) covered the remaining years of the pontificate of John XXII (and, incidentally, the early years of the young Edward III), the pontificate of Benedict XII and the first two years of the pontificate of Clement VI. The sharp rise in the number of provision mandates issued during this period is probably due to the activities of Pope John XXII, who sought to make capital out of the political disturbances in England. But although the number of papal mandates rose from eleven to twenty-seven, the proportion of those known to have had effect decreased to about one in five. Nevertheless it would be false to infer that this sudden increase in papal activity was due solely to the capriciousness of the Pope and his desire to extend his control of clerical appointments, for a number of mandates was issued on the petition of King, Queen, magnates and of the Universities.[19] Two clerks, John de Camera and Henry de Caumpedon found patrons in the King and Queen, and in Henry, Earl of Derby, respectively. It would seem, however, that this influence was confined solely to the obtaining of a mandate of provision, for there is no trace of any direct presentation by the Crown at this period. Thus, so far as actual presentations measure the extent of papal influence, it would appear that, at this time, it was strong, for Thomas Charlton himself provided to but one canonry.

The episcopate of John Trillek (1344-60) covered the years of the Black Death and witnessed the passing of the anti-papal Statutes. In the sixteen years of his episcopate thirty-three

[18] These were: John de Orleton, for whom see, *Reg. Orleton,* pp. 375, 386, 388, 389; Roger Orleton, for whom see, *Reg. Orleton,* p. 61; and Thomas Orleton, for whom see, *Reg. Orleton,* pp. 6, 8-9, 255, 386-7.

[19] The University of Oxford petitioned the Pope on behalf of William Wroth (or Broch)—*C.P.L.* III, p. 132, and *Cal. Pap. Pet.* I, p. 60.

mandates were issued; but it is noteworthy that of these only six are known to have been executed. Perhaps the most striking feature of these provision-mandates was the influence exercised in their procuration by the nobility; in all, fourteen were issued as a result of petitions presented to the Pope by the nobles. Among the clerks profiting by the support of aristocratic patrons were: John Bateman, who obtained the backing of Matilda of Lancaster;[20] Reginald of Stanton who secured a canonry and prebend through the patronage of the Black Prince;[21] and Robert of Frome who used the good offices of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton.[22] In contrast, royal, episcopal and ecclesiastical influence was almost entirely absent, but it is a noteworthy indication of the increasing influence of the universities that a petition was presented by the University of Oxford on behalf of John Tresilian, M.A., Proctor of Oxford.[23] Offsetting this, an improvement seems to have taken place in the bishop's control over actual appointments, for Bishop Trillek was responsible for eleven appointments to canonries and prebends in his cathedral.

The comparatively brief episcopate of Lewis Charlton (1360-9) witnessed a further decrease in the effectiveness of papal mandates; twelve were issued, but it has not been possible to prove that any papal providee actually succeeded in obtaining a benefice. Furthermore, there is little evidence of royal or aristocratic influence in obtaining these mandates. Once again, however, a university employed the papal system to obtain a living for one of its members when in 1363, the University of Cambridge petitioned the Pope on behalf of Roger de Sutton, D.C.L.[24] In view of the fact that papal providees had little, if any, success in obtaining possession of livings, it is not surprising that episcopal appointments were more normal, Bishop Lewis presenting four clerks to Hereford canonries. One case

[20] *C.P.L.*, III, p. 201.
[21] *Cal. Pap. Pet.* I, p. 153.
[22] *ibid.*, p. 55.
[23] *ibid.*, p. 147.
[24] *ibid.*, p. 404.

of royal nomination is recorded[25] but none by any other patron, lay or ecclesiastic.

During the episcopates of William Courtenay (1370-75) and John Gilbert (1376-88) there is no trace of papal interference; and the question immediately arises whether this cessation (so far as the evidence goes) of papal activity is to be attributed to the anti-papal legislation of the previous decade ? Perhaps no judgement on so major a point is possible until evidence from other dioceses has been obtained. But it does seem clear, analysing the facts set out above, firstly, that the majority of papal mandates were issued during the years 1327-69, and secondly, that the proportion of these actually put into effect decreased considerably as time passed. It is thus tempting to conclude that the *Statute of Provisors* was instrumental in curbing papal interference in this sphere of diocesan life. However, it must be borne in mind that the figures quoted above are conservative, in so far as the mere issue of a papal mandate has not been accepted as proof of possession unless definite collateral evidence could be adduced. This may have resulted in an underestimate of the effectiveness of papal intervention and an overestimate of the bishop's freedom of action; but it remains true that the odds were often against a papal providee if local opposition were strong, and we can, in fact, adduce a case where a clerk supported both by the King and the Pope was staunchly opposed by the bishop's nominee.[26] Nevertheless, if a round view is taken, papal interference remained a potent factor in the collation of Hereford canonries and prebends until about 1370, although it would be reasonable to suggest that the *Statute of Provisors* nullified most of the papal mandates.

It has been pointed out by modern historians that the papacy refrained on principle from interference with the right of lay patrons to present to ordinary parish livings,[27] and a

[25] *Reg. L. Charlton,* p. 70.

[26] This was the case of Boley *v.* Chaumbre, for which see, *Reg. T. Charlton,* p. 7.

[27] *Cf.* Barraclough, *Papal Provisions,* pp. 43-44, particularly p. 44, Note 1.

statistical analysis of presentations to parish churches in the diocese of Hereford bears out this observation. Presentations in Swinfield's episcopate show a balance overwhelmingly in favour of lay patrons, who presented to over a hundred parish livings. Ecclesiastical patrons and the bishop followed with some eighty-five and fifty appointments respectively. The Crown and the papacy together presented far fewer clerks than the lay patrons—the papacy presenting to one living only. Statistics for the episcopate of Adam Orleton tell the same tale; for, although there was an increase in papal appointments, it was not sufficient to alter substantially the ratio established under his predecessor, and thus the position of the lay patrons was still strong. Once again, the Crown played an insignificant part, probably on account of the political disturbances of the time, during which Orleton, always a leading opponent of Edward II, participated actively in the dethronement of the King.

Lay, ecclesiastical and episcopal patronage held the field during the episcopate of Thomas Charlton. Papal influence had by this time sunk to a negligible level, for although three provision mandates were issued, none appears to have been executed. Royal patronage, on the other hand, was extended, thirteen cases having been found where the King presented the incumbent. This was possibly due to the appropriations of alien houses during the early stages of the Hundred Years War, which brought their patronage into royal hands. This feature was more marked under Bishop Trillek (1344-60), when Crown appointments reached eighty-eight, more than the combined totals for the three previous episcopates. Presentations by the laity and ecclesiastical patrons remained high, whereas papal appointments did not reach ten.[28] It seems likely that the sudden rise in royal influence is to be attributed to two factors; the *Statute of Provisors*, and more important, in all probability, the mass appropriation of alien priories with their attached benefices, a number of which were situated in the diocese.

[28] The figures were as follows: lay presentations, 167; Crown, 88; ecclesiastical, 124; episcopal, 59; papal, 10.

Statistics for the last three episcopates of our period are less reliable, but those which exist point to the continued absence of papal intervention, and a decline in royal influence after 1360; the latter was almost certainly due to the restoration of many Hereford livings to alien priories consequent upon the Treaty of Bretigny (1360), and perhaps, to a lesser degree, to the confused state of politics at the end of Edward III's reign.

Although the extent of papal influence over an English diocese is most obviously reflected in and must be measured by papal provisions, yet the papal indulgences (or dispensations) issued for multifarious infringements of the canon law have some bearing on the subject as well as an intrinsic interest. The issue of these dispensations was part of the routine work of the papal chancery, but the cumulative effect was to bind every individual, from the King and bishop to the meanest peasant and humblest clerk, to the Church.

In Bishop Swinfield's day at least eight dispensations for plurality were granted to canons and prebendaries of Hereford, and about the same number to ordinary parish priests. One pluralist of the time was the Savoyard, Dean John Aquablanca, who held the prebends of Bullinghope and Ledbury. He was frequently absent from England, seemingly on business for his friend and patron, Amadeus of Savoy.

Pluralism was less marked during the ten years of Adam Orleton's episcopate. This change was almost certainly brought about by Pope John XXII's bull, *Execrabilis,* which compelled pluralists to resign their last living acquired. As a result of this decree, Henry de Schorne resigned the archdeaconry of Hereford in 1318,[29] and John de Walwyn, who held the benefices of Kington, Lugwardine, and Old Radnor, was compelled to resign Kington.[30] Gilbert de Middleton was more fortunate, for although he held two incompatible benefices, the bishop declared one of them immune from the cure of souls and so over-

[29] *Reg. Orleton,* p. 60-1.
[30] *ibid.,* p. 89.

came the illegality,[31] a device frequently employed by the more unscrupulous bishops to fill lucrative benefices with their nominees.

The increase in the number of papal mandates of provision in the episcopate of Thomas Charlton was accompanied by a parallel rise in the issue of papal dispensations to pluralists, non-residents and the like. Precentor Richard Havering, D.C.L., was permitted to hold benefices to the value of £400. Havering's successor, Thomas de Winchester, received a dispensation for being under-age and non-resident. These two are the most glaring examples, but there were others of less note who, as non-resident clergy, failed to perform their duty towards their parishioners.

The years of John Trillek's episcopate saw no diminution in the number of non-resident pluralists, for more than twenty dispensations were issued, generally at the request of some noble or influential person. After 1360 there was a decline in the issue of these mandates just as papal provisions themselves became less frequent. Nevertheless, the effect must have been marked and cannot fail to have disrupted parish life in England. Although Hereford was not over-populated with foreigners or pluralists, it endured its fair share of these ecclesiastical drones. Any study of local history must, however, take account of local conditions; and it seems reasonable to suppose that the diocese of Hereford, situated, as it was, on the borders of the disturbed Welsh marches and subject to intermittent borderland strife, was probably not as representative a diocese at the period under review as (say) Lincoln or York. This may account in large measure for the absence from the diocese of beneficed cardinals and other foreigners, whose presence in the land was the subject of so many hostile petitions in the Parliaments of Edward II and Edward III.

That the papacy did not interfere on principle with the rights of lay patrons is certainly verified by the above study; and while it is true that papal intervention was more marked in the

[31] *ibid.*, p. 255.

appointment of the cathedral dignitaries, even here the effects of papal action should not be over-emphasized because the bishop with his *familia* ran the diocese, the canons playing little active role outside the cathedral itself.

By the fourteenth century papal provisions had become one among many methods of obtaining a benefice.[32] When, therefore, papal providees abounded, it did not follow that the Pope was pursuing a conscious policy of filling the diocese with his nominees, but rather that certain interested parties were using the papacy to further their own ends. From the King and Queen downwards, even to the universities, all employed the existing system to obtain preferment for their servants, friends and kinsmen.[33] This attitude of the English nobility, which did not scruple to resort to papal provision when it suited its interests, is in marked contrast to the anti-papal sentiments of the period recorded in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum.*

Furthermore, it should be noted that although papal interference was at no time excessive in the diocese of Hereford, and declined rapidly after 1351, this did not imply a return to the older system of episcopal control. The papal loss was not the bishop's gain, but rather the King's and nobles': and although the *Statute of Provisors* appears to have had more effect than has hitherto commonly been thought, it did not extend the bishop's freedom at the expense of the papacy; on the contrary, it increased the patronage of the Crown, and, therefore, led to an extension of secular control over the Church. The increasing control of the King and magnates was one of the evil results of the Hundred Years War, during which the beginning can be seen of the tendency to bring the Church into dependence on the State, and thus to pave the way for the assumption of royal supremacy after the breach of Henry VIII and the Pope, and the beginning of the Reformation.

32 Pointed out by Barraclough, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

33 Examples are innumerable: Amadeus of Savoy petitioned on behalf of John Aquablanca; Matilda of Lancaster on behalf of John Bateman; John, King of France, on behalf of Nicholas de Neuton; the University of Oxford on behalf of John Tresilian.

What is true of one diocese is not necessarily true of all. As yet any generalization attempting to assess the effects of papal interference on the English Church as a whole in the fourteenth century would be premature, but the following tentative conclusions, suggested by the Hereford evidence, may serve as a useful basis for comparison when (as it is to be hoped) like research is undertaken on similar problems in other dioceses:

(i) Lay patronage, and even that of ecclesiastical patrons, was virtually untouched by papal provisions. This suggests that Herefordshire parish life was not unduly dislocated on this account, and that we must be prepared to look elsewhere—for example, to the system of vicarages which certainly contributed to a lowering of clerical standards—for the explanation of any deterioration in religious standards which did occur.

(ii) It is impossible to deny the existence of papal interference with the appointment of the higher clergy of the diocese. But even this was not unqualified; the treasurership and precentorship were practically free from papal control, and the deanery alone was seriously affected.

(iii) The issue of papal mandates reached a peak during Trillek's episcopate and thereafter declined sharply. So far as it goes, therefore, the evidence from this diocese seems to contradict the accepted view of the ineffectiveness of the *Statute of Provisors,* and if this conclusion is substantiated by parallel studies, an important modification of current opinion may result.

(iv) Lastly, the decrease in papal influence was not marked by a return to the " old order " in the Church. Rather the "Age of Erastianism" was being ushered in, which became more noticeable when Wyclif expounded the doctrine of using secular power to effect reform—reform which did not result in the unfettering of the Church. Blame for this cannot be laid entirely at the door of the King or of the nobility, for some must be imputed to the bishops, not a few of whom employed the Church to further family interests. Yet in England, as in Germany, the practice had begun whereby the younger sons of the nobility

entered the Church and used her more for their own material benefit than for the spiritual well-being of the Christian souls committed to their care.[34]

[34] Barraclough, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 and 54, draws attention to the material self-seeking after ecclesiastical preferment by the younger sons of the German aristocracy. See also: Stutz, *The Proprietary Church as an element of Mediaeval Germanic Ecclesiastic Law*, in, *Studies in Mediaeval History*, trans. and edited by G. Barraclough (Blackwell, 1938), Vol. II, pp. 35-70.

THE PERSIAN SAGE

By C. S. C. WILLIAMS

The object of this study is to correct, if possible, some of the impressions given by the late Professor F. C. Burkitt of Cambridge in his treatment of the oldest extant Syriac-writing Father. If the following remarks include some criticism of Professor Burkitt's estimate of the Persian Sage, it is only because they are based on the studies of many scholars who have been stirred by Burkitt's fascinating work to go more deeply into the subject of the development of Christianity on the borders of the Roman Empire and beyond them. Without Burkitt's pioneer work, Dom R. H. Connolly and Mother Mary Maude and others might never have made their contributions to the subject. A secondary object of this paper is to fill in some part of the background of the necessarily somewhat brief outline of the teaching of the Persian Sage, as Burkitt sketched it first in his *Early Eastern Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, which appeared in 1899, and then in his longer work *Early Eastern Christianity*, which appeared in 1904 and which included much of the earlier book verbatim. These two books have served as an introduction for many to the subject of Christianity among the early Syriac-speaking Christians.

A century ago William Cureton discovered the Syriac text of the Persian Sage; it was brought by him from the famous convent of St. Mary Deipara to the British Museum and edited by William Wright in 1869. A somewhat incomplete Armenian version of the text had already been published in Rome in 1756; in this edition the author was assumed to be Jacob of Nisibis;[1] the author's real name, however, according to the tenth-century lexicographer Barbahlul, was Aphraat or, in its Greek form, Aphraates; similarly the thirteenth-century Gregory Barhebraeus called the Persian Sage by the name of

[1] *Cf.* Gennadius, Pat. Syr. I x.

Farhad and made him out, more or less correctly, it seems, to have been a contemporary of Papa, bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, who died *c.* 327. Barhebraeus mentions that the author wrote in Syriac twenty-two epistles according to the letters of the alphabet. If Aphraat followed the eastern fashion of adopting a new name on elevation to the episcopate and chose the name of Jacob, then we can understand how he came to be confused with the more famous Jacob of Nisibis. The latter, however, died in 338 before the last of the Demonstrations of the Persian Sage were written. In a note by a scribe of the fourteenth-century manuscript we are told: "The Persian Sage is Aphraates, bishop of St. Matthew," "St. Matthew" being taken usually to mean the monastery of Mar Matthai north of Mosul and on the east bank of the Tigris; this note, however, may be misleading if Labourt is right in setting aside the tradition that Mar Awgin the younger contemporary of Aphraat introduced Pachomian monasticism into Syria from Egypt; we must not assume that coenobitic monasticism had developed on any large scale if at all in Aphraat's day among Syriac-speaking Christians.

Some doubt also attaches to another piece of external evidence about Aphraat. In the ancient Syriac martyrology edited by Wright and dated A.D. 411 or 412 the name of Aphraat occurs, but it appears alongside the names of martyrs whose death is placed *c.* 341, while the evidence of Aphraat's Demonstrations shows that he was still alive then. However, Aphraat was extremely fortunate if he was not martyred, especially if the sentiments expressed in Demonstration V became known to the Persians, for in this Demonstration Aphraat makes a scarcely veiled allusion to the Persian war with Rome; Aphraat was a subject of the Persian Shah-in-Shah Sapor II but he could write down that Christ at his coming gave the power to rule to the sons of Esau, i.e. to the Romans, who were to hold the rule for Christ who had committed it to them. Aphraat prophesied that the Roman armies would not be defeated while Persia was the "beast about to be slain"; the Persian pride and obstinacy must fall. This prophecy was

of course falsified by the event when the Emperor Julian died of wounds received in battle against the Persians on the Tigris in 363, and when an "ignoble peace" was concluded by Rome with Persia and the great fortress of Nisibis was ceded to Persia together with provinces which included a largely Christian population. The Emperor Jovian left these Christians to their fate and the Persians were free to "arrest and deal with those who would not give up Caesar's religion." Gone were the days when Christians had the hostility only of the Zoroastrian fire-priests or Mobeds to face; as soon as the Roman Empire became nominally Christian the persecution of Christians in Persia became part of the State policy, though no attempt to carry it out was made till Constantine died. Sozomen, who seems fairly well informed on the East, may not exaggerate when he speaks of 16,000 martyrs who perished under Sapor II; as the clergy were singled out for punishment and as persecution was most intense not only around the capital, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, but also in the north in the track of the Persian armies, Aphraat was lucky if he escaped.

For the rest of our information about him, we turn to the Demonstrations themselves which have been edited not only by Wright in 1869 but also by Dom Parisot in the Patrologia Syriaca in 1894 and 1907. There are twenty-three Demonstrations, the first twenty-two of which correspond to the twenty-two letters of the Semitic alphabet, the first word of the first Demonstration starting with Alaph, the second with Beth and so on. Aphraat added a twenty-third, entitled, "On the Cluster" with Isaiah lxv, 8, in mind: "As the new wine is found in the cluster and one saith Destroy it not for a blessing is in it." He intended by this acrostic that his writings should be preserved in their proper order; this acrostic form is enough in itself to disprove the theory that the Armenian version was the original, for in the Armenian neither the acrostic nor the order of the Demonstrations survived, quite apart from the fact that the old Armenian alphabet had 36 letters, not 22.

The subjects of the Demonstrations are as follows: (i) Faith, (ii) Charity, (iii) Fasting, (iv) Prayer, (v) Wars,

(vi) Sons of the Covenant, (vii) Penitents, (viii) Resurrection, (ix) Humility and (x) Pastors. These are dated A.D. 337. Two years later the persecution began and it is striking that the majority of the other Demonstrations, though dated A.D. 344-345, are directed not against the Persians so much as their jackals, the Jews; they are on (xi) Circumcision, (xii) Passover, (xiii) the Sabbath, (xiv) Internal affairs or Exhortation, (xv) Divers meats, (xvi) The call of the Gentiles, (xvii) Jesus Messiah, (xviii) Virginity, (xix) The dispersion of Israel, (xx) Almsgiving, (xxi) Persecution, (xxii) Death and the Last Things, and (xxiii) The cluster. Aphraat more than once dated his works or their publication with a double reference to Greek and Persian chronology (v 5, xxii 25, xiv 50, xxiii 69).

It is clear from internal evidence that he was born a pagan, not a Jew or Jewish-Christian; even before the State persecution of Sapor started, his life was therefore forfeit in theory to the Zoroastrians. It is clear, too, that he embraced an ascetic life and that he wrote as having at least episcopal authority; to illustrate the latter point, Dem. xiv is a Homily of exhortation and reproof drafted no doubt by Aphraat himself on behalf of a local synod and addressed to the bishops, priests and deacons of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. On his far outpost of Christendom he seems to have remained blissfully ignorant of the Nicene Council held only twelve years before his first series of Demonstrations appeared. He does not refer to St. Athanasius or to Hosius of Cordova, nor even to Lucian of Antioch nearer home who had died in 312; nor even to his younger contemporary St. Ephraim the Syrian whose fame has rather unjustly eclipsed that of Aphraat but whose writings are not so much theological as poetical effusions. In his thought Aphraat was pre-Nicene. The only heresies to which he makes even a passing reference are the Marcionite, Valentinian and Manichaean. He does not allude to the Sabellians in Persia mentioned by Epiphanius (Haer. lxii, 1) but his own writings are the earliest direct evidence that we have of a more orthodox Christianity there. How that Christianity had arrived there is

uncertain; perhaps by the time that the Book of Acts was published, there were already Christians among the Parthians, Medes and Elamites and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, cf. Acts ii, 9. Dionysius of Alexandria seems to have known of Christians in Mesopotamia and their part in the baptismal controversy, *c.* A.D. 250. Philip, the pupil of Bardesanes, who wrote "On Fate" or "On the laws of the countries," presupposes that many Christians had penetrated as far as the eastern districts of Persia, and Eusebius himself mentions Christians in Mesopotamia who were martyred in the time of Diocletian. If Professor Baynes is right, Constantine the Great regarded himself as the guardian of Christians outside the Empire and his letter to Sapor II may not be entirely unhistorical, in which he wrote *c.* 330: "I am delighted to learn that the finest districts in Persia also are adorned with the presence of Christians,"[2] though Sapor's feelings about them must have been much as were Elizabeth's about the Roman Catholics in England before the Armada.

Perhaps following Dr. Wigram we can rely on the sixth-century History of the Bishops of Adiabene by Mshika-Zca and we can believe that Adai evangelized Edessa in the first century and ordained Pqida to be the first bishop of the district of Adiabene and Assyria *c.* 104, though other Syriac traditions attribute the conversion of the original Christians there to Mari. At all events, it is very probable that missionaries travelled from Antioch and Edessa through Nisibis towards Persia. The Christianity of Edessa was mainly Jewish-Christian and it seems as if the environment in which Aphraat's fellow-Christians lived was largely Jewish or Jewish-Christian too. Throughout the Demonstrations we can detect the note of fear that the Christians may lapse into Judaism and thereby save their skins but not their souls. It was probably not until the fourth century that the first attempt was made to organize the loosely-knit bodies of Persian Christians into one system of church government. Papa bar'Aggai, bishop of the civil

[2] Eus. *Vita Const.* iv. 13.

capital of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, wanted to copy the system of the Western Fathers, that is of Nisibis and Edessa, and to become himself what was called later the Catholicos, to use the term for the patriarch borrowed from the Armenian Church. The attempt was resisted by the bishops of the country who feared the loss of their independence. When a synod met at Seleucia in 315, Papa was accused of immoral conduct, pride and scorn of canon law; the story is well known how he seized the gospel-text presented to him and appealed to it, "Speak, gospel, speak," only to fall senseless to the ground with a paralytic stroke; the synod recognized the "stroke" of the divine hand and deposed him, electing his somewhat insubordinate archdeacon Shimun bar Saba'i to his throne not altogether with Shimun's consent; Papa recovered and appealed to the Western Fathers, which shows that he must have known of a connexion between Nisibis and Edessa and the Persian Church; they allowed his appeal, reinstated him and ordered Shimun bar Saba'i to wait till Papa died before taking the episcopal throne, which he did at Papa's death in 327. In the most impassioned of all the Demonstrations, xiv, Aphraat may have included a reference to Papa's actions. "There is found among you one of our brothers adorned with the tiara, whom those of his district would not recognize . . . He went off to foreign rulers asking for bonds and chains to distribute throughout his region and town." But is it possible that such words were penned with reference to Papa some twenty years after the latter's death and allowed to stand word for word as the fourteenth Demonstration? It might be easier to suppose that Aphraat was referring to one of Papa's successors such as Shadost or Bar B'ashmin who followed Shimun bar Saba'i on the throne and to a martyr's crown. Even so, it must be recorded that not even Sapor's persecution rid the Church in Persia of the greed and lust for power of which Aphraat complains or healed the divisions between the Persian Christians.

The twenty-three Demonstrations were produced to meet a friend's request for teaching about the Faith; this friend's

CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC LIBRARY

letter is prefixed to the Demonstrations and there is no need, I think, to assume that this letter is a literary artifice, the work of Aphraat himself; but who the friend was is unknown. For the opening words are missing in the Syriac and can be deduced only from the Armenian version, though we cannot accept the ascription of the letter in this version to Gregory the Illuminator, the founder of the Armenian Church, who had died in 332. It seems that the friend was a bishop and a recognized head of an ascetic group, like Aphraat himself. For Aphraat writes in Dem. x: "Read, study, thou and thy brothers, the sons of the covenant and the sons of our faith"; and again in Dem. xii: "Do thou instruct in thy turn, instruct thy brothers, the sons of the church." In the second part of his brief letter, the friend of Aphraat gave a short account of his own faith, which he asked Aphraat to strengthen and confirm; the wording of this little rule of faith reminds one of St. Irenaeus' summary in his work against the Heresies iii, 3, of St. Clement of Rome's first Epistle to the Corinthians, Clement according to Irenaeus "proclaiming the one God omnipotent, the Maker of heaven and earth, the Creator of man, who brought on the Deluge and called Abraham, who led the people from the land of Egypt, spake with Moses, set forth the law, sent the prophets and who has prepared fire for the devil and his angels." For Aphraat's friend, after mentioning God as maker of heaven and earth and maker of man in his own image, passes on briefly to refer to Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and the prophets through whom God spoke and finally Christ, whom God sent into the world. It is well to bear this letter in mind because Burkitt failed to notice that Aphraat in Dem. i, on Faith, was concerned not so much to give his own creed or rule of faith as to build upon the summary in his friend's letter and to add to it a reference to Baptism and the Resurrection. Burkitt took Dem. i, 19, to give the creed of Aphraat; in this he seems simply to have been following Bert, who had translated the Demonstrations into German with an introduction in 1888. Dem. i, 19, runs:

"For this is Faith
When a man shall believe in God, the Lord of all,
That made the heavens and the earth and the seas and all that in them is,
Who made Adam in His image,
Who gave the law to Moses,
Who sent of His spirit in the prophets,
Who sent His Messiah into the world,
And that a man should believe in the bringing to life of the dead,
And believe also in the mystery of Baptism:
This is the faith of the church."

Aphraat continues with what the Didachist might have called a warning against the way of death:

"And that a man should separate himself
From observing hours and sabbaths and months and seasons and enchantments and divinations and astrology and magic and from fornication and from revelry and from vain doctrines, the weapons of the Evil One, and from the blandishment of honeyed words and from blasphemy and adultery,
And that no man should bear false witness,
And that none should speak with double tongues:
These are the words of the Faith that is laid on the true Rock which is the Messiah, upon Whom all the building doth rise."

Burkitt's comment on this runs: "Such is the creed of Aphraates. To him Christianity was the revelation of a Divine Spirit dwelling in man and fighting against moral evil, not first and foremost a tissue of philosophical speculation about the nature of the Divinity in itself. But this is wholly alien to the temper of Greek and Latin Christianity as it manifests itself from the fourth century onwards." On the other hand, H. L. Pass and Dom Connolly had little difficulty in showing, the one in J. T. S. ix and the other in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft VII*, that to arrive at the Creed of

Aphraat Burkitt should not have confined himself to Dem. i, 19, but should have had regard to all the more credal statements scattered here and there throughout the Demonstrations; these statements are the more impressive as they are usually casual *obiter dicta* and not parts of an ordered theological scheme, e.g. Dem. xiv, 39: "He is the first-born Son, the offspring of Mary; let us receive His littleness that we may rejoice in His greatness: and He it is that suffered and lived again and ascended to the height; let us believe in Him in truth that we may receive His coming: and He is the Judge of the dead and the living; who sitteth upon the throne and judgeth all things." Dem. xvii, 2: "Nevertheless it is affirmed by us that Jesus the Lord is God, Son of God, King, Son of the King, Light from Light, Son (or should we translate this word [*bra*] 'Creator' with Parisot and Burkitt himself?) and Counsellor, Guide and Way and Saviour and Shepherd and Congregator and Door and Pearl and Lamp; and by many such names is he surnamed but we shall leave aside all (the rest) of them and prove concerning Him that He is Son of God and God who came forth from God." Dem. xxi, 9: "Joseph's father put on him a priestly tunic and the Father of Jesus put on Him a body from the Virgin." Dem. iii, 6: "He is our life-giver, our Lord Jesus Christ Who came and put on our manhood and suffered and was tempted in the body which He took from us." Dem. xxi, 20: "Because Jesus put on a body and humbled Himself, He delivered the Church and her sons from death." Dem. xxiii, 20: "Jesus was born from Mary the Virgin of the seed of the house of David, from the Holy Spirit . . . From Mary He put on a body." Dem. vi, 13: "When our Lord went down to the place of the dead, He quickened and raised up many." Dem. v, 9: "He rose the third day." Dem. xxi, 14: "He sat on the right hand of the Father." Dem. xiv, 31: "Jesus Christ is Lord, unto the glory of God the Father and is become Lord of the dead and living." Dem. xi, 11: "The true Jordan, the baptism of remission of sins." From these and many other similar phrases Dom Connolly was able to reconstruct what he called the Creed of Aphraates and to compare

it with other reconstructions that he made of similar credal forms taken from the writings of comparatively early Syriac documents like the Acts of Judas Thomas and the Doctrine of Addai. His reconstructed Creed of Aphraates runs:

I believe in God the Lord of all that made the heavens and the earth and seas and all that in them is,
And in our Lord Jesus Christ
The Son of God
God, Son of God,
King, Son of the King,
Light from Light
(Son and Counsellor and Guide and Way and Saviour and Shepherd and Congregator and Door and Pearl and Lamp)
First-born of all creatures
Who came and put on a body from Mary the Virgin (of the seed of the house of David from the Holy Spirit)
And put on our manhood
And suffered (or, and was crucified)
And went down to the place of the dead (or, to Sheol)
And lived again and rose the third day
And ascended to the height (or, to heaven)
And sat on the right hand of His Father
And He is the judge of the dead and of the living Who sitteth on the throne
And in the Holy Spirit
And I believe in the coming to life of the dead
And in the mystery of Baptism
of the remission of sins.

To-day many of us may be inclined to call this "Creed of Aphraates" his rule of faith and not a creed. The Warden of Keble has summed up Lietzmann's recent researches into the early history of the creeds; he has said:[3] "Briefly, Lietzmann finds the second century prolific in summaries of the faith,

[3] J. T. S., XLIV, 1943, 11.

some Christological, some based on the threefold Name, and some having yet other structural forms. Within the similar forms the details and emphasis varied. No writer down to and including Tertullian can be quoted as showing exclusive attachment to one structural form of summary much less to one exact formula. Gradually, however, certain forms and finally a certain formula attained exclusive predominance locally." On the other hand Dom Connolly might point to the non-Scriptural phrase " Light from light " in his reconstructed creed or to the fragment of Asterius who is quoted by Bardy[4] as saying of Christ, " Life and Way and Day and Resurrection and Door and Bread and whatsoever else He is called in Holy Scriptures " or again to the Dedication formula of 341 which has been attributed to Asterius' teacher Lucian of Antioch and which contains the phrases concerning Christ " True Light, Way, Truth, Resurrection, Shepherd, Door " and later " of the divine being " etc., and again " the first born of every creature " or " of all creation." However, for the present purpose it does not matter whether the so-called Creed of Aphraates should be called a Rule of Faith. In either case it summarizes what Aphraat believed, and refutes Burkitt's theory that Dem. 1, 19 is the full expression of Aphraat's belief.

(*To be concluded*)

[4] *Recherches sur S. Lucien d' Antioch et son école.*

T. E. HULME

By W. R. F. BROWNING

When Thomas Ernest Hulme was killed thirty years ago on September 28 at the age of 34, he was already well known to a circle of the intelligentzia who used to meet week by week at a house in Soho, and professional philosophers knew that Bergson's *Introduction to Metaphysics*[1] had been "translated by T. E. Hulme"; but it was to be many a day before a survey of the trends of theology would be thought incomplete which did not mention his name.[2] Hulme's *Speculations*,[3] which divided the Christian era into the mediaeval period (whose outlook was fundamentally right) and the modern (whose outlook was fundamentally wrong-headed), were published at the same time as Percy Dearmer announced that there was no Renaissance,[4] only a "culmination" of genius already manifest but sadly cramped by "the old ecclesiastical influence" which "had narrowed Christianity down to a much smaller thing than the religion of Christ." Such theories as this ("the adequate expression of Christianity by the arts will probably come about in an era we have not yet reached") were more acceptable to theologians of the twenties than Hulme's pessimism. But by the time Mr. Michael Roberts published his critical study of Hulme in 1938,[5] the sunny climate of accommodation had been disturbed by winds then blowing unmistakably from Switzerland, and he started not a few theologians coursing through the pages of *Speculations*.

T. E. Hulme was educated at Newcastle-under-Lyme High School, where he was an able mathematician and even then

[1] Macmillan, 1913.
[2] Cf. *C.Q.R.* Vol. cxlii, p. 156.
[3] Kegan Paul, 1924.
[4] *The Necessity of Art*, 1924, p. 62.
[5] *T. E. Hulme*. Faber. (Unfortunately not so well-known as Mr. Roberts' other books.)

passionately interested in philosophy; at lunch he would talk volubly to the head master about Pearson's *Grammar of Science*. He must have been a trial to the school authorities and at least once he reduced his housemaster to tears. Cambridge—he won an exhibition to St. John's in 1902—curbed none of his eloquence and rather less of his turbulence, and at length the rowdiness of his rooms overreached the limit of reasonable liberty. His enforced departure from Cambridge was made, dramatically, in a hearse, attended by his friends, and he then lived in London and abroad; till 1912, when a brief note from Bergson, suspect though he may have been in academic circles,[6] at any rate encouraged the authorities to readmit him. But this time his stay was even shorter and he never took a degree.

Hulme was a militarist at a time when intellectuals were thought to be mostly internationalists. He joined the Army with zest, and was in France before the end of 1914. Ezra Pound (who printed Hulme's poetical works as an appendix to his own *Ripostes*)[7] tells us that Hulme went to battle

> With a lot of books from the library
> London Library, and a shell buried 'em in a dug-out
> And the Library expressed its annoyance.

Though his zest did not last, he consistently championed (against Lord Russell) the rightness of the war, to the surprise of military colleagues, who did not see why any apology was needed, and the indignation of literary pacifists who felt betrayed by someone who should have known better.

Mr. Roberts affirms that nothing Hulme ever wrote was original. He was certainly an eclectic thinker, and he knew he was trying to hold together inconsistencies. As a scientific philosophy Hulme's system, Mr. Roberts is constrained to admit, would be "heart-breaking."[8] We have been left the essays and notes of a young man, and indeed that is one of their

[6] Raven, *Science, Religion and the Future*, p. 73.
[7] Elkin Matthews, 1915.
[8] *T. E. Hulme*, p. 122.

interests, since mature thinkers are not often willing to let us read the unresolved antinomies of their youth. After his death were found Hulme's jottings for a statement of his metaphysics in allegorical manner rather like Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*, and this might have cleared up some of the inconsistencies. But it was left to Mr. Roberts to do it for him, and a very gallant attempt it is. Hulme's shortcomings are not spared: "he often confuses the issue"; he has "an irritating and arrogant manner", and Mr. Roberts can conclude with only the modest claim that we must be grateful to Hulme for pointing out some of the errors in the Humanist doctrine of man's goodness, progress, and perfectibility. Hulme's own published work consisted of the *Speculations* (posthumously edited by Mr. Herbert Read), an essay on Bergson, the translations, his articles in *The New Age*, and some "Notes on Language and Style" printed in *The Criterion* for July 1925.

The root principle of his work is his belief held "quite coldly and intellectually as it were" in original sin and the existence of absolute values: man, though he apprehends perfection, is incapable of attaining it. And hence his indebtedness to thinkers who, in many ways, differed from him: to G. E. Moore (for whom belief in God, "inevitable" to Hulme, is an improbable hypothesis)[9] because of his objective ethics; to Pascal, who gave him a doctrine of discontinuity (Hulme once said that everything he wrote was to be regarded as "a prolegomena (*sic*) to the reading of Pascal");[10] to Georges Sorel, who opposed the shallow optimism and hypocrisy of liberal democracy and whose *Reflections on Violence* Hulme deemed worthy of translation;[11] to Wilhelm Dilthey (who to nearly everybody else in England was merely a name that one encountered in people like Troeltsch until Professor Hodges' *Introduction*),[12] who emphasized the all-too-human character

[9] *Ethics*, p. 151.
[10] *Speculations*, p. 57.
[11] 1925 edition still in print.
[12] Kegan Paul, 1944.

of our notions and gave Hulme his distinction between a scientific philosophy and a *Weltanschauung*; to Epstein (geometric art); and to Bergson for his non-mechanical theory of reality and his doctrine of intuition which bridged the gulf between the divine and the human. And in a note to the *Criterion* article Mr. Read gives a further list!

Hulme's primary interest was aesthetic, and his fundamental thesis is best expounded when he is directly dealing with this. He was accustomed (rather to Epstein's amusement) to explain with eagerness the spontaneous creations of artists in terms of his own theory, which represents, as Mr. Carritt says,[13] the ideas which Worringer, Riegl, and Wölfflin maintain: "Geometrical art differs from our own because the creators of that art had in view an object entirely different from that of the creators of more naturalistic art."[14] In geometric art "man is subordinate to certain absolute values: there is no delight in the human form leading to its *natural* reproduction; it is always distorted to fit into more abstract forms which convey an intense religious emotion." So Byzantine art corresponds to the "ideology which looks on man and all existing things as imperfect and sinful in comparison with certain abstract values and *perfections*." Modern art since the Renaissance corresponds to the ideology where life is good and Perfection placed "where it should not be—on this human plane. As we are painfully aware that nothing *actual* can be *perfect* we imagine the perfection to be not where we are, but some distance along one of the roads. This is the essence of all Romanticism." There everything is justified by its worth for future happiness or human survival. The religious attitude, on the other hand, holds to certain absolute values to which sinful man tries to approximate with the help of discipline, political and moral. This latter is the plain truth, but since the Renaissance it has been almost forgotten save by isolated spirits like Hobbes and Pascal.

[13] *Philosophies of Beauty*, p. 273.
[14] *Speculations*, p. 83.

Hulme's robust language has been an agreeable discovery to many in the Churches (was he not anticipating the theological reaction?) but in actual fact, except for a passing reference to Justin Martyr, he does not mention theologians and he rarely went to worship, and his attitude is properly described as "religious" rather than "Christian": for he has no doctrine of redemption or Holy Spirit. Had he needed to posit an authority to establish his absolute values he would probably have looked towards Rome, yet the doctrine of universal sinfulness, as understood by Hulme, was alien to the Roman doctrine of Sanctification. Here he was perhaps nearer to the Reformed tradition; yet it is a grave weakness that from Hulme's work there might never have been any Reformation. Once, indeed, he contrasts the early Puritans with "the sloppy thought of their descendants", but he never suggests that the Protestant tradition has been the main bulwark against the Humanists ("all who do not believe in the Fall of Man") whom he regards as having supplied the mental framework of Western Europe for 300 years or more. But was it not strong enough in England to expel from her life apostles of Romanticism like Byron and Shelley and strong enough to preserve our political institutions from ills which secular liberals plunged the Continent's into?[15] And in his æsthetic theory Hulme might profitably have devoted some attention to Protestants like Rembrandt.

T. E. Hulme was not another Forsyth whose works must be reprinted too. His doctrine was violently one-sided and the fact that "very few inside the Churches" had, as he said, understood the doctrine of original sin "in recent years" does not in 1947 turn it into the whole gospel. As interpreted by Mr. Roberts[16] he held man to be "endowed" with original sin, which is shocking to a Christian, as it suggests that man's sinfulness is part of his nature made by God, whereas God did not make evil but a nature capable of experiencing temptation.[17]

[15] Butterfield, *The Englishman and his History*, p. 124.
[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 44.
[17] R. Niebuhr, *Nature and Destiny of Man*, I, ch. vii.

Hulme knows nothing of repentance before a Holy God—indeed God, Freedom, and Immortality are, though like original sin part of our fixed nature, "quite secondary notions." There is nothing of Atonement, Resurrection, or New Creation, and it is useless to go back to the half-truths of Hulme when everything he said has been absorbed into the more proportionate theology of our own time. When we have the radicalism of Reinhold Niebuhr, for example, and the sociology of Dr. Demant we could hardly have the patience to listen to Hulme reacting from utopian liberalism to the "emancipating" ideology of Sorel.

This does not mean by a long way that Hulme has nothing to teach us, still less that he was not a man of stature and vision in his own day. First, his theory of discontinuity has earned the epithet "important" from Mr. T. S. Eliot:[18] there are three distinct groups of reality, and one may not be described in terms of the other—the inorganic world of mathematical and physical science; the organic world, the province of biology, psychology, and history; and the world of religious and ethical values. So, writes Mr. Roberts, "God is not the ultimate manifestation of 'life' and 'progress'", and we can no more interpret "life" in terms of physics than the absolutes of religion and ethics in terms of "life."

Secondly, Hulme has reminded us that what we call modernism or liberalism is only the manifestation in theology of the same attitude to life apparent also in romanticism in literature and utopianism in politics; and this cannot be said too often. (A recent example of criticism avowedly influenced by Hulme is Bro. George Every's *Christian Discrimination*.)[19]

Had it not been for an unexpected shell near Nieuport Hulme would have been 64 this year, and we can only guess how his thought would have developed, especially when he had met and digested Kierkegaard ("Away from the Aesthetical!"). And surely he would have felt the difficulty of maintaining a

[18] Introduction to the Everyman *Pascal*.
[19] 1940.

theory of discontinuity without admitting the Christian revelation? Perhaps his chief claim to our esteem to-day is brought out by Mr. Montgomery Belgion in an article published just twenty years ago in the American *Saturday Review of Literature* and entitled "In Memory of T. E. Hulme." Hulme is there treated as a precursor of T. S. Eliot, Herbert Read, and others, to the extent these have advocated a new classicism in writing, and of Wyndham Lewis to the extent he was "anti-time" and "spatial." But in theology Hulme's influence has come too late. Much though we admire his stand for the doctrine of original sin, which his contemporaries despised, he has been discovered *after* the truth which he helped to disinter has been again recognized as one constituent of the whole Christian scheme. The *Speculations* are dated, and for us it would be unwise (though it might be remunerative) to labour their one-sided message. If Hulme clarifies the mind, Christian doctrine also warms the heart with songs in the night[20] and a message of hope.

[20] Job xxxv, 10.

MARXISM

By G. J. M. PEARCE

WHAT are the causes of social change? Everyone knows that the kind of life lived in any society varies considerably from age to age. English people in Chaucer's time did not live in the same way as they did in Elizabethan times; English life under Queen Anne was very different from what it was under Queen Victoria. Yes, you may observe, the country was governed differently at different periods. Shakespeare lived under an autocracy; Dr. Johnson, to his disgust, under a Whig oligarchy; Dickens under a constitutional monarchy. Quite true, the forms of government do change, but not only these. The whole life of men in society changes. Shakespeare and Dickens both wrote English, but not the same kind of English; they both wore clothes, but not of the same fashion; their houses were built in different styles; their modes of thought, their moral and spiritual judgements, their ways of life were different. The structure of society and men's outlook upon life changed between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. We may recognize stable elements persisting amid all the change, but the fact of change is indubitable. Why should change occur? The question is a serious one and the answer to it is by no means simple. It is not altogether obvious that human social life must change. Other living creatures—bees, for example—live in communities which are strictly and rigidly ordered in an unvarying pattern. Virgil in his Fourth Georgic wrote of bees:

"... they esteem royalty more than Egypt does or enormous
Lydia even, or the peoples of Parthia, or the Mede by
Hydaspes.
Let the queen be safe—they are bound by a single faith and
purpose:
Lose her—then unity's gone ...

Guardian of all their works she is. They hold her in awe.
Thick is their humming murmur as they crowd around and mob her.
Often they chair her shoulder high: and in war they shelter
Her body with theirs."

The queen bee Virgil described was an autocrat; there is no evidence that the regime is now democratic. Then, "an inborn love of possession impelled each to his own office"; their community has no different basis now. Their communal life does not change. The life of bees is doubtless very different from the life of men, but since bees also seem to live in a kind of society, there is sufficient resemblance to give point to the question why their communities should be static while all human societies change with the passing of time. The problem of social change raises a number of complex and important issues and we cannot solve it without discussing them. A solution will involve some conclusion about the nature of man and the nature of the historical process.

The problem was first seriously discussed during the eighteenth century when Rousseau, Vico, and others were emphasizing the importance of history to contemporaries obsessed by the mechanistic account of the universe elaborated in the previous century by Descartes and Newton. The man who stated it in the form with which the modern world is most familiar was Karl Marx. It would not be untrue to say that Marx's doctrine of economic determinism, and his distinctive views of human nature and of history, are all part of a grand account of the causes of social change. Of all the answers that have been given, that of Marx is, in the opinion of many, the profoundest, the most extensive, and the most dramatic. Whether we accept his views or whether we reject them, we cannot deny their powerful influence on the intellectual, the social, and the political life, of the world in which we live. Marx was a voluminous writer, and his views have been expounded and discussed in a large number of books, so that in a short essay it is not easy to sketch without distortion. Marx's anthropology cannot be considered apart from his

doctrine of social change, and this raises the question of economic determinism. I shall first refer to the earliest work of Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* published in 1848, one of the most brilliant and influential pamphlets in modern literature. Then I shall indicate the bearing of Marxism on the Christian view of man; lastly, I shall consider the Marxist critique of religion and try to assess the strength and weakness of Marxism.

First, then, the general standpoint of Marxism. Suppose we begin, as *The Communist Manifesto* does, with the conception of class struggle. Marx asserted that, throughout history, society has been divided into different classes; in ancient Rome, patricians and plebeians; in medieval Europe, lords and serfs; in the modern period, capitalists and wage-earners. The conflicting interests of these classes have involved them in a struggle in which they have either destroyed one another or have completely changed the structure of their society. The strife continues; within our societies, two classes contend with one another, the bourgeois and the proletariat. The bourgeois are the lineal descendants of the burgesses of the medieval towns. The collapse of the feudal organization of society, the discovery of new markets, the growth of modern industry, the introduction of the western manufacturing system into distant regions, and the proliferation of trading companies until no part of the world was foreign to them and no people was beyond the scope of their commerce, all stimulated the development of the bourgeois class. It is the product of a long series of changes in the modes of production and exchange. Its rise to supremacy was not unchallenged. Each new accession of commercial influence provoked afresh the hostility of the classes wielding political authority. But each assault was resisted and broken, until at length the bourgeois class which held the purse-strings, held also the reins of government. Its political victory had important social consequences. The landed aristocrat had concealed the brute strength of his authority beneath the soft habiliments of a pretended interest in the welfare of his tenants. But now all was changed. For exploitation veiled by religious

and political illusions was substituted exploitation which was brutal, naked, and unashamed. The trading class, having gained economic and political supremacy, denied the value of every human relationship except those which were demanded by self-interest, and "drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, and of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation."

Marx claims that this analysis of the development of bourgeois capitalism from the close of the Middle Ages onwards, reveals certain principles which enable him to forecast what must come to pass in the future. Economic change is the clue to social and political development. Using this clue, Marx prophesied that in the future, frequent change in the modes of production would make settled and ordered social conditions impossible; the exploitation of the world market would make production and consumption the same in every country and "would draw from under the feet of industry, the national ground on which it stood"; the intellectual discoveries of individual nations would become the common property of the world; all nations would be influenced by the civilization following European trade through the breaches made even in Chinese walls by the heavy artillery of the cheap prices of its commodities; rural populations would drift to the towns, with the result that the crowding together of industrial workers in large cities would concentrate property in the hands of a few, and centralize government.

Although bourgeois society has accomplished wonders surpassing any that the world has known, it contains within itself the seeds of its own decay. Its economic organization provokes increasingly grave crises which first corrupt and then destroy it. Not only so; it gives rise to a certain class which will take advantage of economic crises to promote its own interests. The dominance of the bourgeois class is possible only at the cost of the degradation of the workers. "In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e. capital, is developed," Marx says, "in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of labourers who live only so long as they

find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market." Under capitalism, the working class suffers continual degradation, it absorbs the small capitalists and even the great capitalists who have been ruined by competition, it first organizes itself to improve conditions of employment by bargaining with employers and afterwards uses its newly-found power in order to initiate political action. The proletarians are without property. "They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property . . . Law, morality, religion, are to them so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests . . . The proletariat . . . cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." The bourgeoisie forms and augments capital which depends on wage-labour. The development of industry which is needed for the increase of capital promotes the organization of the workers, so that capitalism, in working for its own ends, necessarily achieves its own ultimate destruction. "What the bourgeoisie therefore produces above all are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." When, by the operation of the iron laws of economics, capitalism is irretrievably ruined, the control of the processes of supply and demand will pass into the proletarian hands. Capital, which is a social power, will then be used for social ends, that is, for the community which the proletariat has now become, and the dialectical process which in capitalism generates from the bourgeoisie, their own antithesis, will come to rest in a society in which there is neither bourgeois nor proletarian because all classes have perished with the economic order in which they had their birth.

Now what is the gist of all this? The chief point to grasp is that the chief influence on human affairs is not exerted by

great leaders, or by the thoughts of profound thinkers, or by the laws which are made under the guidance of great statesmen, or by the ideals of artists or by the lives of saints, but simply by the methods adopted to satisfy the physical needs of men. "The mode of production", Marx says, "determines in general the social, political, and intellectual processes of life." There is a direct relation between the way in which men produce and distribute physical necessities, and the form of government they adopt, the thoughts they think, and the moral code under which they live. To put the matter in another way, society is a unity and its various activities react on one another. Of these activities, the economic is the most important because it determines the way in which society is organized. This view is known as economic determinism and it is the foundation of Marxism. Economic determinism works in making classes; every economic technique gives rise to a certain dominant class. For example, in an agricultural community, where everybody depends on the cultivation of the soil, the dominant class is those members of the community who own land; in an industrial community, it is the owners of capital. The ruling class is not the same in every community, but its supremacy has always the same basis, mastery of the source of wealth. Whenever economic change occurs, whenever, for example, a community comes to depend on industry rather than on land for its existence, a change occurs in the class structure of society. England towards the end of the eighteenth century ceased to be a largely agricultural community and became industrialized. The dominant class in society ceased to be the landed aristocracy and became the industrialists. But the change does not take place without a struggle. Power must be forced from the hands of its possessors. So in the years immediately before the Reform Bill of 1832, which for the first time gave political power to the middle class, there was incessant political dispute and public disturbance. In other words, the aristocracy and the middle classes were in open conflict. Marx holds that the history of society is the history of the struggle between the class which is dominant at any given time, and the subservient

class which is working out newer methods and ways of living. Since this conflict is the result of change in the balance of economic power, Marx would answer the question "What are the causes of social change?" by saying that they are changes in economic technique.

The economic factor does more than account for class structure and for the form of government which is dependent upon it. It accounts for the culture of society. Art, literature, morals, and religion, all depend on the economic motive. Each class has its own set of ideas, but since classes depend on economic affairs, these will determine what the sets of the ideas will be. The dominant class imposes its ideas on society as a whole and thus determines the whole culture of the society. When, for example, in the Middle Ages, power was concentrated in the hands of feudal lords, that honour paid to a superior should be regarded as the supreme virtue was to their interest, and it was inculcated in all members of the community. In the nineteenth century, owners of capital, knowing that their wealth depended on free competition, emphasized the value of individual initiative and exhorted other classes to practice self-help. Consequently, individualism permeated the social atmosphere and was the strongest influence on the economics, art, morals and religion, of the day. The culture of a society does not merely reflect the point of view of the ruling class; it also reflects its interests. It was to the interest of feudal lords that everyone should think it right to honour a superior; it was to the interest of the Victorian capitalist that his employees should be thrifty and industrious. As Andrew Undershaft remarks in *Major Barbara*, "I prefer sober workmen. The profits are larger." Hence, also, any kind of activity which is against the interest of the ruling class because, e.g., it tends to decrease its power, is stigmatized as immoral and irreligious. Thus socialists in the early days of the Labour movement were often regarded as ignorant and wicked. Capitalists are now regarded as stupid and selfish. Morality, religion, and culture, are so many devices for keeping subject classes in order. A man's religion depends in the last resort on

the class to which he belongs. If he belongs to the working class in a capitalist society, the kind of religion he professes will be in appearance that which he thinks is true; in reality it will be that which the governing class thinks will keep him in subservience. Nonconformity, a Marxist would say, was a popular form of Christianity in the nineteenth century, because, stressing the importance of the individual, it was exceedingly useful to a governing class for which the freedom of the individual to appropriate to himself as much wealth as possible, was a vital necessity. The masters were served, and Nonconformity prospered. But now the economic balance has altered. The moral and religious ideas which were necessary to maintain the economic system on which Victorian society rested, are not necessary to maintain the system on which our present society is based; therefore Nonconformist individualism is otiose and this kind of religion will decay. It must decay because its religious and social individualism is contrary to the interests of the ruling class, the masses, in a socialized State.

We are now in a position to consider the second matter I wish to raise: What is the bearing of Marxism on the Christian view of man? I will begin by pointing out some resemblances between Marxism and Christianity, and then I shall consider some of the implications of the Marxist view of history and of social solidarity.

Marx holds, as we have seen, that human history is determined by economic factors and not by human activity or by the providential action of a personal God. At first sight, especially when Marx's attitude to religion is taken into consideration, it appears that there could be no resemblance between his views and the doctrines of Christianity. Yet, on reflection, a certain similarity can be discerned. A Christian, for example, believes in the guiding hand of God in history. He holds that while the human will has a genuine, if limited, freedom, it is God's purpose rather than man's which will finally be achieved in history. The human will is truly free in so far as it co-operates with God's will, but even when men fall into the slavery of sin by the refusal of their co-operation, God still makes the wrath

of man to praise him. Now Marx holds that what men think or will makes no difference to the unfolding of the historical process. That is changed only when, to satisfy basic physical needs, economic technique is changed. Something outside man determines what he is and does. In other words, there is a Providence which shapes our ends. Man is made by the economic order which is external to him and which is not the creation of his will. Moreover, the economic process is sovereign; it moves infallibly to a given end. Capitalism which creates the bourgeoisie creates also their destroyer, the proletariat. The dialectic of history works itself out; the godly inherit salvation while the very oppositions of the ungodly do but increase their own damnation. For Marx also the historical process is determined, but men have a certain freedom. They are free in so far as they work together with the main flow of historical events. Their freedom consists in their recognition of the sovereignty of the historical process. "Make me a captive Lord and then I shall be free", sings the Christian. "Freedom consists in doing the will of the community", says the follower of Marx and of Stalin. "The liberty of the individual is man's proudest possession", says the bourgeois, and he discovers that the individual's freely willed activity has consequences which no one intended and no one wants. Is the Christian conception of freedom more like the Marxist or more like the liberal? Again, Marx believes in judgement, and in heaven. His heaven is the classless society which is coming with eschatological certainty. In the world the proletariat may have tribulation, but let the workers be of good cheer for Judgement Day is certainly coming when the omnipotent historical process shall enable them to raise the shout of them that triumph, the song of them that feast in a solidly mundane kingdom where the bitterness of class distinction is unknown, where the lust for power dies with the economic organization which nurtures it, and where even joy is scientifically planned. A secular providence drives the proletarian multitudes to the delights of a secular heaven. Providence, sovereignty, eschatology: they are all in Marxism, though like Bottom the

Weaver, they are all translated. The Providence of God is economic activity, Divine Sovereignty is the necessity of economic laws, eschatology is the certain coming of the classless society. It might almost seem as though, to adapt what Disraeli said of Sir Robert Peel, Marxism had caught theology bathing and walked away with her clothes.

But there may be a closer affinity than is suggested by these resemblances. Marx takes seriously the reality of the historical process. One of the merits of his system is that it gives an impressive and dramatic account of the whole sweep of human history. So also does Christianity, though it starts from very different premisses and reaches different conclusions. It insists that the temporal can only be rightly interpreted in the light of the eternal, but it does not regard temporality as mere appearance. Did not the eternal Son become incarnate and enter history? It can be argued that Christian theology in this matter is nearer to Marxism than to other forms of humanism resting on philosophies which fail to do justice to the reality of history.

Further, Christians believe in the solidarity of the human race. Man was "created in the image of God" and hence is capable of response to God. As mankind is one by creation, so also it is one in sin. In Adam all die. Redemption, likewise, is of universal application: "so also in Christ shall all be made alive." And the new life is available for the whole race through the divine community, the New Israel, the Church.

There is a point of contact here between Marxism and Christianity because Marx also stresses the social solidarity of mankind. He finds in certain universal wants, the bond which unites men. However much they may differ in other respects, they are all alike in this—that they need food, clothing and shelter. Men live together in communities in order to provide for the satisfaction of these needs. As Plato says, ". . . a state comes into existence because no individual is self-sufficing; we all have many needs, . . . so having these needs we call in one another's help to satisfy our various requirements." Marx bases human solidarity on the appetitive aspect of human nature.

In this he is not followed by Christianity, neither, for that matter, by Plato, but at least they would follow him in accepting the principle of solidarity. Now many political thinkers deny, or perhaps underestimate, the importance of man's social relations. They tend to pay too much attention to the individual as an isolated atom and to regard society as merely a collection of units rather than as an integrated whole. The failure to notice that the individual was an abstraction and that political thinking must begin with persons, that is, with individuals in their social relations, was characteristic of many English political philosophers from Locke to John Stuart Mill, and in this respect Christianity stands nearer to Marx than to them, although, of course, it is not difficult to find Christian writers who have allowed their thought to be more strongly influenced by the British tradition. Christian theology when it is truly Biblical avoids an exaggerated individualism.

In the last part of this essay, something must be said about the validity of Marx's opinions and especially about the Marxist critique of religion. Marxism can be interpreted in two ways. It can be regarded as a theory in the strict sense, that is, as a set of truths to be accepted or not. Regarded in this way, it is open to serious objection. Consider, for example, the leading Marxist doctrine that the economic side of life determines all the others. Is it not true, we must ask, that the economic factor is itself determined? How any given society is organized economically, will depend on its social and political organization. The kind of economic technique employed will depend, among other things, on the political system of the community. Would, for example, the mercantile capitalism which grew steadily during the later years of Elizabeth's reign have displaced the municipal and guild system of the Middle Ages if the strong centralized Tudor government had not first gained control of local authorities and won security at home and respect abroad? Further, economic technique is determined by scientific inquiry. The kind of economic activity which is impossible in one age may well be made possible by scientific invention in the next. Again, where is the boundary between economic and non-

economic activities? No boundary can be fixed, and hence we can never be sure that the economic factor is working in isolation. For these reasons, Marx's doctrine of economic determinism must be regarded with grave suspicion.

But we may interpret dialectical materialism not as a strict theory so much as a method of historical explanation. As a pure theory it is open to criticism; as a method of explanation it may be acceptable. The question we have to ask about any method is not, Is it true?, but Is it fruitful? Is Marxism a fruitful method when used to explain history? Here we return again to the question, "What are the causes of social change?" We must consider whether, if we apply Marxism as a method of historical interpretation, it gives us an answer to this question. As we have seen, a Marxist, seeking to explain why social change occurs, will take account of the economic processes which affect religion, art, philosophy, in short, the culture of a community. Now culture may be influenced by economics to different degrees at different periods in the history of a given community. It therefore follows that the extent to which the Marxist view can be accepted is a question of degree. It may be true that the economic factor powerfully influenced culture at one period, but it may not be true that its influence was equally powerful at another. The economic factor which influenced Langland when he wrote *Piers Ploughman* may not have inspired Milton to write *Paradise Lost.* Provided that the Marxist method is not made to serve every occasion, and provided it is used with due caution, it is a fruitful method and does lead to the discovery of truth. It is perhaps most valuable in its application to modern European history.

The Marxist theory of religion can be briefly stated. Religion is a projection; man projects human characteristics on reality when he is frustrated by nature and by society. "The omnipotence of God", Marx writes, "is nothing but the fantastic reflection of the impotence of people before nature and before the economic social relations created by themselves." The only genuine remedy for the frustration caused by nature is the extension of our control of nature by science, and for

the frustration caused by society, the right ordering of the economic conditions of social life." There is some truth in this. Men often resort to religion only when they are at their wit's end; religion may become a mere "funk-hole" for those who do not wish to face the hard realities of life; religion has been used to distract men's attention from science; religion has been used by those who were interested in maintaining certain forms of social wickedness as an effective means of persuading the victims of iniquitous social conditions to endure the misery against which they would have rebelled had they not been conveniently fortified by the hope of an eternal reward. But mixed with the truth is much error. Religion is universal; rich and poor have it in common. Lenin says: "All contemporary religions and churches, all and every kind of religious organization serve as a defence of exploitation and the doping of the working classes." But if religion is dope, it is taken by rich and poor alike. On Lenin's view, there should be no rich religious men. Further, nature and society do not provide the only frustrations of the human spirit. We are all frustrated by death. May not the root of religion be, as A. A. Bowman suggests, a human longing for life in the face of this final frustration? All classes have at least death in common. Further, the Marxist emphasis on frustration does not explain why men are still religious when they are not frustrated. Again, religion is not born only of frustration and fear. It is born of an overpowering sense of reality. Finally, religion is not always conservative. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have all been revolutionary religions.

Marx was a Jew; both his parents were sprung from a long line of Jewish teachers. His father was nominally a Christian, though his chief intellectual debt was to eighteenth-century France. Marx himself inherited the moral and spiritual genius of his race. Though he was the hostile critic of contemporary Christianity, as we have seen, some of his doctrines have a curious affinity with Christian belief. Though he was a determinist, his writing is suffused with a moral fervour. Paradoxically enough, the driving force of Marxism is an intense desire

for social righteousness. All opponents of Marxism must bear this in mind. It is not sufficient to point out the logical flaws of the system; that has often been done, but the number of Marxists has not diminished. Marxism is an economic doctrine, a political theory, an anthropology, a philosophy of history, but it is more; it is a faith. If we can show that a faith is unreasonable we have gone far towards destroying its power, but we have not gone all the way. Some quite unreasonable faiths have adherents whose credulity is not shaken by the most cogent arguments. An erroneous faith may be crippled, it cannot be slain by logic. But it can be destroyed by a sounder faith. If we think that the Marxist faith is misplaced, ignoble, and pernicious, we must continually remind ourselves that it has a remarkable power over the minds and hearts and consciences of men, and that the only kind of Christian faith which has any chance of striving successfully with it is a faith which excels it in evoking a fervent moral passion, an adequate understanding of the true nature of man, and a profound knowledge of God, the eternal environment of human life. "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace: but when a stronger than he shall come upon him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils."

TRURO CLERICAL CLUB: 1750-60*

BY G. C. B. DAVIES

However biassed the opinions of John Wesley when referring to the Anglican Church of his day, they yet possess a certain significance. His travels, it should be remembered, covered the greater part of England, and his contacts with clergy of all types were many and varied. On numerous occasions their hostility was marked, and he received scant welcome within their parish boundaries. Acid and pungent criticism on the part of the great evangelist might be expected, and duly allowed for in the existing circumstances; but favourable comment deserves attention. Under the date Sept. 8, 1760, his Journal records, "Surely God has a favour for the people of these parts! He gives them so serious, zealous, lively preachers."[1] This reference to Cornwall is important in considering one aspect of the Rev. Samuel Walker's work at Truro—the founding of his Clerical Club.

Such a club for mutual encouragement, for exchanging views, and making suggestions as to pastoral duties and problems, though rare, was not unique. Archbishop Tenison had recommended them to the bishops of his Province as early as 1699, and mention is made of such associations during the eighteenth century by Fletcher at Madeley, Henry Venn at Huddersfield, and James Stillingfleet at Hotham, among others. But a strong case can be made that this Cornish gathering was the first of its kind specifically for Evangelical clergy in the country. Though Walker might be the outstanding leader, there were in the neighbourhood others who were like-minded.

* This subject will be further elaborated, and forms part of a more extended and detailed study entitled *The Early Cornish Evangelicals*, to be published by the S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society.

[1] *Journal*, iv, p. 407.

To trace their connexion with Walker; to ascertain whether or not they were members of his club; to have some record of their ministries—all this should form an important chapter in any biography of Samuel Walker. It is therefore surprising that a century ago Edwin Sidney, in his *Life of Walker,* while describing the club's procedure and activities, makes no specific mention of its members, in view of his main contention that the Evangelical revival was independent of Methodist activities throughout the country at the time. If, as he asserts, this was the case, the identification of those concerned among the Anglican clergy would add weight to his arguments, by enabling enquirers to verify the facts for themselves. At this distance of time, and in the absence of any new documentary discoveries, reconstruction of the club membership is somewhat hazardous. Certainty is hard to obtain, except in three cases, but there are a number of probable and possible candidates. Whether they were members or not, however, the fact that they were "enlightened" clergy, and had some definite connexion with Walker, is of particular interest in the history of these early days of the Evangelical revival.

There is some confusion about the date of the foundation of the club. In a letter to a friend in London, written in 1753, Walker states that "not long after the commencement of this work at Truro, several clergymen of us in the neighbourhood associated ourselves under the name of the Parsons' Club, for mutual consultation and direction, in order to promote the great end of our ministry."[2] And in a quotation from his diary for Sunday, March 4, 1753, he writes, "(I) intreated also thy blessing on our society of ministers. Grant, O God, that it may be a blessed instrument of reviving true practical religion."[3] A letter from Risdon Darracott, a Nonconformist minister, of Wellington, Somerset, to Henry Venn of Clapham, dated November 20, 1754, states, "I find that there are six clergymen who thus regularly meet together to strengthen each other's hands in the

[2] *Biographia Evangelica,* Erasmus Middleton, iv, p. 360.
[3] Middleton, *op. cit.,* p. 364.

work of the Lord."[4] And more precisely, in a letter to Thomas Adam, of February 16, 1755, Walker states, "We have had a Parsons' Club subsisting these five years."[5] Against this must be set the statement in a letter from Walker to Darracott, dated March 5, 1755, "Pray for us, and for the Divine Blessing on our meeting, the 18th inst., which will be our first club."[6] Sidney, in his *Life of Walker,* took this as the correct date, but it is unlikely that he had access to all the previous evidence, and a date of about 1750 is probable, the statement quoted by Bennett probably meaning "the first club meeting of the year."

The purpose of the club's formation, in the words of its founder, was "to consult upon the business of their calling", which was "done all along with so much freedom, love, and unanimity" that he was "astonished at the remembrance of it."[7] Always punctilious in his official dealings, Walker was careful to ask the permission of his diocesan before the first gathering was held, and received it at least "as far as the words 'do not forbid you' may be interpreted to go." The wary Lavington was quick to scent any activity with the taint of Methodism. Such a gathering in this quarter of his diocese was immediately suspect, and a grudging consent was all that could be expected until further details should be revealed.

Nothing daunted, however, the members gathered at their meeting place "seven months of the year, on the first Tuesday after every full moon, at their several houses by turns."[8] They began at 10 a.m., and closed at 6 p.m., with an interval for dining at two o'clock. To guard against possible shafts of criticism alleging any ulterior attraction in such gatherings, it was expressly stipulated that the fare provided should on no account exceed a couple of plain dishes of meat. The host held the post of "director" for the day, introducing the subject under dis-

[4] Quoted from Venn MSS. by kind permission of Dr. J. A. Venn, President of Queens' College, Cambridge.

[5] *Christian Observer,* 1803, p. 345.

[6] *Star of the West,* James Bennett, p. 185.

[7] *Life of Walker,* E. Sidney (1838), p. 76.

[8] *Fifty-two Sermons,* S. Walker (1763 ed.), vol. i, intro. p. xlix.

cussion, and preventing the intrusion of irrelevant topics until the matters under consideration were fully settled. Each member was required to bring his views in writing on the subject for the day, so that all might contribute something, without allowing anyone to monopolize the gathering.

In spite of official permission, however, considerable opposition was levelled against the club on the ground of its supposed Methodist tendencies, but only two members fell away in face of such unpopularity and hostility. Walker's eager spirit devised searching enquiries and constant self-examination of motives, courses of action and behaviour, so that members might have no doubt as to the real purpose of these meetings, and the profit each might derive from them through increasing zeal and devotion in their individual ministries. There was never a doubt in the mind of any member of his attachment to the Anglican Church. The increased efficiency and usefulness of each of the clergy within his own parish by these mutual exchanges of ideas and opinions was the prime cause of the club's formation. As Walker's correspondence with the Wesleys reveals, he felt strongly about their irregularities, and wished by every means to stimulate an equal devotedness within the framework of the parochial system.

Considerable benefit was experienced by the members of this association, although in the eyes of its leader, meetings did not always attain the exacting standard he desired. His diary records on one occasion, "Club very uncomfortable and unpromising."[9] But a minority in particular derives much of its strength from its unity of effort and purpose. This can best be sustained by frequent meetings for consultation as to policy and procedure. In view of the hostility of its opponents, Walker's Clerical Club was not only helpful to the few who subscribed to its outlook, but almost a necessity for continued witness to their particular profession of faith. Who, then, were the men who were so banded together, and whose ministries excited such

[9] Tuesday, April 19, 1757. Quoted in *Spiritual Register,* by T. Wills (1785), vol. iii, p. 16.

comment and opposition, and what is known of their lives and work?

The first certain member, after Walker himself, was Thomas Michell of Veryan. He was admited to the benefice on Oct. 1, 1743, and remained there till his death in 1773.[10] In a letter to Thomas Adam of Wintringham, Walker reports, " My friend was appointed to preach at the Bishop's Visitation last year. He did so, and called on us to exert our ministerial function by preaching Christ, studying the Scriptures, &c., with a word or two on pluralities and non-residence. He spoke modestly but freely, and as the Bishop (said) falsely, who took occasion in his charge to mention the preacher, and insisted, contrary to what the sermon insinuated, that the clergy both preached Christ and studied the Scriptures. The matter was again resumed after dinner, when the outcry of the many was strong, and he was particularly attacked for speaking against pluralities. His defence was an appeal to the Judgment Seat. The sermon was understood to be that of the club, though indeed it was not."[11] The Exeter Diocesan Visitation Book states that Thomas Mitchell preached the Bishop's Visitation Sermon at Truro on July 19, 1754. This, together with Walker's letter, is evidence that he was one of the early club members. Not a great deal can be learned of his life and work. He always resided in his parish, and his visitation returns reveal his conscientious efforts on behalf of his people. In 1744 he reports that there were two services on the Sunday, with sermon in the morning and on Saints' Days. He read prayers daily, and held eight Sacraments in the year. Out of 150 eligible communicants, eighty came regularly, with 130 the previous Easter.[12] Twenty years later, the number of eligible communicants had decreased to 130, with an average of sixty at each of the ten Sacraments held annually. The children were catechized in summer.[13] An echo of his true feelings for his

[10] *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis,* vol. i, p. 354.
[11] Sidney, *op. cit.,* p. 79.
[12] Exeter Visitation Book, 225, c.
[13] *ib.,* 228, c.

people occurs in the burial register, between July 15 and 26, 1761, when six men were buried; after which appears his comment, "Lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God. O may God convert and save this parish."[14] His confirmation candidates were numerous; 50 in 1749, 73 in 1754, 113 in 1765, 36 in 1768, and 35 in 1771.

With him must be bracketed John Penrose of St. Gluvias, Walker's school-fellow. From the many references to him in Walker's letters, they were evidently close friends, and that he was a member of the club is stated by his grandson of the same name, who noted that he was one of the original seven members.[15] Michell and Penrose are frequently mentioned together, which suggests that the Fal estuary could not prevent their meeting on many occasions, often, no doubt, at Truro. It is recorded that the two acted as referees for the ordination of Thomas Haweis, Walker's protégé, though the bishop would not honour their signatures, on the ground that "they both preached faith without works."[16] They are also mentioned as co-trustees, together with the Rector of St. Mary's, Truro, and the Vicar of Kenwyn, of two exhibitions of £30 per annum at Exeter College, Oxford, open to boys from Truro Grammar School, from the bequest of the Rev. St. John Eliot, Rector of St. Mary's, Truro, and of Ladock, who died in 1760. The incumbent of Kenwyn at this time was the non-resident Walter Borlase—the same redoubtable Dr. Borlase under whom John Wesley suffered in the Penzance district. From his association with Michell and Penrose, Walter Borlase must have been more willing to co-operate on academic than on spiritual issues.

Penrose was Rector from September, 1741, when he was collated by his friend, Bishop Weston, until his death in 1776. The St. Gluvias registers state that he preached Charity Sermons, in accordance with the terms of various benefactors' wills. He had as deputy on one occasion the Rev. Mr. Evans, accord-

[14] Veryan registers.
[15] See *Of Christian Sincerity*, J. Penrose (1829), p. 180.
[16] *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. ii, pp. 54-5 note.

ing to the Borough Account Book; this may have been his curate, though there is no mention of his name in the registers as an officiant. An old pamphlet records that in the year of his death Penrose revived the custom of beating the bounds. One quaint feature of his baptismal registers is the hand with pointing index finger which he drew in the margin to indicate an illegitimate child. His visitation returns clearly show the difficulties of his work. He catechized, but stated that he found people ignorant of the Sacrament, which he ministered on the first Sunday of each month and on the great festivals. At St. Gluvias, however, in 1744, out of 204 eligible, only 42 ever communicated; and at Budock, out of 590, the number was 170, the average monthly attendance being 40, with 86 the previous Easter. Penrose catechized after the second lesson every Friday in Lent, when the scholars of the schools were brought to church.[17] Unfortunately he sent in no return in 1765, so no comparison of the two dates is possible.

Penrose's memory is preserved in the epitaph in St. Gluvias church, written by Hannah More, which closes with the lines,

> ". . . . The path of duty still untired he trod,
> He walked with safety for he walked with God,
> When lost the powers of precept and of prayer,
> Yet still the flock remained the shepherd's care.
> Their wants still nobly watchful to supply,
> He taught his last best lesson, how to die."

Another judgement, by one not prejudiced in favour of the Evangelical clergy, stated that he " left a reputation of learning, of piety, and of all the virtues which adorn the clergyman."[18]

These two, with Walker, are the only certain club members. One of the earliest records states that the number " originally consisted of seven, to whom were afterwards added four others: of whom before Mr. Walker's death four had died, two had left

[17] Exeter Visitation Book, 225, c.

[18] *Parochial History of Cornwall,* Davies Gilbert, vol. ii, p. 104.

the meeting through fear of the world, and two had been removed to a situation too distant to give attendance."[19] It therefore remains to examine those others who may possibly be included.

The first, and most probable, of these is James Vowler, curate of St. Agnes. On Saturday, September 3, 1757, John Wesley's Journal records, "In the afternoon I spent an hour with Mr. Vowler, curate of the parish, who rejoices in the love of God, and both preaches and lives the gospel." The next day he continues, "Mr. V. preached two such thundering sermons at church as I have scarce heard these twenty years. O how gracious is God to the poor sinners at St. Agnes!"[20] That Walker knew Vowler appears from a letter written to Thomas Adam some nine months later, which states, "Christ rides prosperously at St. Agnes. Brother Vowler tells me, he has there, who meet among themselves in little parties weekly for free conversation, no less than seventy persons; and the number is as large of those who apply to him, but are not gone so far. His patience and prudence will I believe overcome the strange opposition made against him by the Methodists. In their eye, both he and I are *well-meaning legalists*."[21] A further letter from the Rev. Mr. Fawcett, a Kidderminster clergyman, dated April 29, 1758, refers both to Vowler, and his successor, William Philp. "Mr. Vowler, a curate at St. Agnes, about four miles from this place, is greatly blessed, and the people flock to him every night in the week, but one, which he reserves for making his plain practical sermon. His house is full, and more than it can hold, every night, and by day (taking a bit of bread in his pocket) he walks round his large parish, about three or four thousand inhabitants, and inquires into the state of their souls; besides the people come to him for advice, three or four miles round him, not regarding wind, or weather, and, by what we hear, a greater reformation among the common sinners, was never known in any parish or neighbourhood. Mr. Vowler is a capable, humble,

[19] *Fifty-two Sermons*, S. Walker, vol. i, intro. p. xlix.
[20] *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 234.
[21] Sidney, *op. cit.*, p. 436, dated 7/6/58.

and prudent man, and was not long since a gainsayer, but by means of Mr. Walker's acquaintance is become truly serious. Another clergyman, and friend of Mr. Vowler's, a gainsayer too formerly, one Mr. Philp in Devon, has likewise success in preaching the everlasting gospel, all the country in alarm, as if the gospel had never at all been preached to them, calling the preaching of Christ, the new way, and the new preachers. This man too has been brought to a sense of himself by Mr. Walker's means, and acquaintance."[22]

But on July 30, 1758, Vowler died, attended during his last few hours by Walker, who wrote a moving account of his last days to some friends. Such a close friendship between these two men argues that Vowler would very probably be numbered among the Clerical Club members. His early death greatly affected Walker, who refers to his heavy sense of loss in two subsequent letters written some months later. Little else is known about Vowler, but an account of his funeral, at which the curate of Truro preached the sermon, suggests that the people of St. Agnes were deeply moved at the loss of so zealous a minister.

Vowler's successor there was William Philp. He was, as previously stated, known to Walker, being mentioned in the letter to Adam quoted above, " Mr. Philp acquaints me that the alarm increases in his parish and neighbourhood in the north of Devon."[23] As Walker's brother, James, was Vicar of Perranzabuloe, at that time the mother church of St. Agnes, it is possible that he heard of Philp through Samuel Walker of Truro. Not much also is known of him, apart from references in John Wesley's Journal, under the name of Phelps. He writes, " I had much conversation with Mr. Phelps; a man of a humble, loving and tender spirit."[24] Just two years later, however, occurs the entry, " I preached again (at St. Agnes) at eight in the morning, and afterward heard an excellent sermon

[22] *Historical Collections relating to remarkable periods of the success of the Gospel,* J. Gillies, D.D. (ed. 1845), p. 532.

[23] Sidney, p. 437.

[24] *Journal,* v, p. 107.

at church, preached by the Rector, Mr. Walker, elder brother to the late Mr. Walker of Truro. He likewise gave notice of his design to preach, in the afternoon, a funeral sermon for Mr. Phelps, his late curate, a man eminently humble, serious, and zealous for God. He was snatched away by a fever three weeks since, as was his predecessor, Mr. Vowler, three or four years before."[25] (It may be mentioned in passing that Samuel Walker's correspondence with John Wesley reveals the difficulties growing up between the Methodists and the Evangelical clergy; by now Wesley found that out of ninety-eight people in his St. Agnes society, all but three or four had forsaken the Lord's Table, evidently due to friction between them and the curate.)[26] It was curious that two curates of such earnest disposition should both die in harness at St. Agnes within four years, and apparently from the same cause. Having regard to Philp's views, it is at least possible that Walker, knowing him previously, would admit him to his club.

This naturally leads to the consideration whether Walker's brother, James, was of the same spiritual outlook. We have no evidence on this point, except the fact that he appointed three "awakened" men as curates at St. Agnes: Vowler, Philp, and later Thomas Wills. When so great prejudice existed against such views in many parts of the country, and especially in the Exeter diocese under Bishop Lavington, it is hardly likely that an incumbent would, on three successive occasions, jeopardize his career by such appointments, unless he himself concurred in their views. On this ground James Walker must be considered a possible club member. It should also be remembered that he was the brother-in-law of Thomas Vivian, Vicar of Cornwood, these men having married two sisters, the daughters of John Hussey, town clerk of Truro.[27]

Two other men in the "possible" category are Henry Phillips of Gwennap, and Mydhope Wallis of St. Endellion. Correspondence between them and Walker contains much spiritual advice, and certainly implies that he was assured of

[25] *ib.*, iv, p. 529.
[26] See *Christian Observer*, 1877, p. 234.
[27] *Collectanea Cornubiensis*, 402.

their similarity of outlook. His opinion of Phillips was particularly favourable. Writing to Thomas Michell at Veryan in May, 1754, Walker remarks, " Let me tell you that I was, as proposed, at Gwennap, and surely I have never preached to a congregation where so many expressed an experience of the power of the Word, and all in a manner heard with a more than curious attention. I was tempted to wish myself an assistant to my dear friend there, where the harvest is so plenteous and promising. May God direct his heart into the knowledge of all faith. He seems singularly fitted for his important trust by the more than ordinary measure of natural endowments which he is possessed of, and I am abundantly rejoiced in the proofs I see in him of a work of grace carrying on upon his soul . . ."[28] And writing to Phillips himself the next day, Walker declared, " I had too much pleasure at Gwennap that I should not thank you for it. I reflect upon your congregation with great satisfaction and am fully persuaded of a plenteous harvest approaching under your hand. May God in every way enable you for it. May you see your works prosper. May you have many seals of your ministry making your latter days full of peace and brightening your crown."[29] These tributes from one of Walker's sincerity, who was never afraid to point out lovingly the faults of his friends, make it at least possible that Henry Phillips would be a club member, as in addition Gwennap is only some six miles from Truro.

The case of Mydhope Wallis of St. Endellion is more difficult. A letter written to him by Walker, dated September 10, 1754, begins, " I have reflected with continual pleasure on the satisfaction I enjoyed in your company on Wednesday last at St. Columb . . . That I want the support of good heads and faithful hearts I most freely own, being, I assure you, ill qualified myself in either respect; yet I am willing to contribute what I may to the interests of Christ's religion against the violence it suffers, nor doth anything so peculiarly rejoice my heart as an acquaintance with clergymen hearty in the same

[28] *Christian Guardian,* vol. ii (1810), p. 442 f.
[29] *Zion's Trumpet,* vol. ii (1799), p. 392.

cause. If this makes me desirous of correspondence with Mr. W—— he will not take it amiss.

" After what you have heard of me it may not be improper that I tell you I am no Methodist tho' I think the Methodists as a body a sincere sort of people, yet they have mistakes and irregularities about them which I have no authority to countenance; and my conduct towards them is upon the plan of Gamaliel's advice."[30]

This letter is more formal than that to Phillips, but it reveals a certain depth of acquaintance, thus implying some spiritual sympathy between them. Both Wallis and Phillips might be included under the heading of those who had " moved to a situation too distant to give attendance." But in addition, there is evidence that for a period at least in the ministries of both, they were non-resident, Phillips living at Halwill, in Devon, and Wallis at Trethill, Sheviock, near the Tamar estuary, acting as curate there, though unlicensed. The latter is described as " an excellent classical and Hebrew scholar ", of Balliol College, Oxford. He was instituted to Endellion, and to the Prebend of Trehaverock in 1753, becoming curate of Sheviock from 1769 until 1776 when he became Rector of St. John's, Antony, till his death in 1790.[31] He maintained a resident though unlicensed curate at Endellion for a time; this man, named William Buckingham, is mentioned in John Wesley's Journal[32] as having been dismissed his curacy for Methodist connexions. This implies a lack of sympathy at least on Wallis's part, and makes it doubtful if he would have welcomed an invitation to Walker's club, with its Methodist reputation, despite the disclaimer in the letter quoted above. In addition, the distance both of Endellion and of Sheviock makes it unlikely that he could have been more than an irregular visitor to Truro, having, so far as is known, no particular connexion with that town.

At first sight, Thomas Vivian, Vicar of Cornwood, would

[30] *Christian Guardian,* iii (1811), p. 127.
[31] *History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor.* Maclean, vol. ii, p. 393.
[32] *Journal,* vol. iv, p. 187.

seem to be disqualified for the same reason, but certain evidence makes it probable that he was at least an occasional visitor. He was born at Comprigney in the parish of Kenwyn, near Truro, in 1720, and was educated at Truro Grammar School and Exeter College, Oxford. His marriage in 1747 to Mary Hussey, daughter of the town clerk of Truro, and the sister-in-law of James Walker, has already been noticed. Moreover he acted as curate in charge of Truro for a few months after Joseph Jane's departure, before Samuel Walker's arrival, in 1746.[33] His second curacy was at Redruth the following year, but he left within twelve months. The reasons for this short ministry appear in a letter signed "T.V." written to John Wesley on October 10, 1748:[34] ". . . Perhaps you scarce remember to have seen me; but though I am unknown to you, yet you, by your writings, are intimately known to me. It was to these, more than anything else, that, under God, I owe the blessing wrought on my soul: by these I obtained a clearer discovery of the nature of gospel salvation, and in reading them found the *experimental* knowledge of what I sought after. I hope you will not refuse to lend your assistance in nourishing and supporting one that you have been the instrument of begetting to a lively hope and faith, that I may neither run uncertainly or faint in well-doing. You have heard, I suppose in Cornwall, that my speech was too plain and irksome to be suffered to be continued any longer at Redruth. My words were no longer tolerable, when I began to preach Christ crucified, and the necessity of an inward change, Jesus and the resurrection to a new life. But before I was obliged to quit one place, another was prepared for me. When in answer to an account I had writ to the Bishop of the Methodists, I was expecting a reprimand, I received the collation of this parish, in consequence of an application made by a friend of my wife's. And the resolution of my principal at Redruth to part with me, though sudden and unexpected, came very seasonable. My brethren are greatly offended at me on account of my character as a Methodist. Being obliged to

[33] Truro Cathedral registers.

[34] *Arminian Magazine*, i (1778), p. 586 ff.

build a house, I have employed some believers brought from Cornwall, who met in a class, and some of the parish are usually there; but there are many adversaries, powerful and jealous; the people here being remarkable, even among their neighbours, for a rough disposition . . . I desire that before the Throne of Grace you would remember your unworthy brother in Jesus Christ, T.V."

The date of this letter is interesting, as it reveals that Walker's and Vivian's conversions occurred at about the same time, though the manner of their awakening was along very different lines. Vivian is also the only one of these clergymen who expressly admits being influenced towards this experience by John Wesley. At the head of this letter appears Wesley's comment, "From a clergyman lately awakened (N.B. He is fallen into the Pit of the Decrees, and knows me no more!)": a reference to the fellowship between the early Evangelicals and Methodists, who later drifted apart owing to the moderate Calvinistic tendencies of the Anglican clergy and their converts being incompatible with the Arminian teaching and methods of Wesley and his followers.

Of Vivian, Polwhele (no friend of "Calvinists"), remarks, that he was "gifted with a very strong understanding, which lost none of its vigour in his children. But Mr. Vivian possessed, what is more valuable than mental powers, an uncommon sweetness of disposition, partly owing to natural temperament, and partly to the mild influence of Christianity."[35] His life at Cornwood, where he remained until his death in 1793, was uneventful, but he is remembered as the author of several works, the best known being an exposition of the catechism, which Richardson of York found more useful than that of either Walker or Adam.[36] That his connexion with Truro would make him closely acquainted with Walker is also confirmed by his being mentioned as in agreement with Walker's views in the latter's correspondence with Charles Wesley,[37] and

[35] *Biographical Sketches*, R. Polwhele, vol. i, p. 78.
[36] *Christian Observer*, 1877, p. 237.
[37] Sidney, p. 210.

on another occasion in a letter to Adam. On these grounds, he may be considered at least a welcome, if an irregular, visitor at the Clerical Club.

Another interesting figure is Samuel Cooper, curate of Cubert. John Wesley refers to a gentleman of St. Columb, who gave "a pleasing account of two young clergymen, Mr. C———, and Mr. Phelps who had the care of three adjoining parishes." And again, a fortnight later, ". . . Mr. C———, of Cubert, preached at the church (Redruth) both morning and afternoon, and strongly confirmed what I had spoken."[38] This was evidently Samuel Cooper, as the Cubert registers reveal him to have been there at this time. Of greater interest is the appearance of his name in the Truro marriage registers as officiating minister in February, 1760, and on several occasions after Walker's departure. Since, however, he does not appear to have arrived at Cubert until almost the close of Walker's ministry at Truro, it is unlikely that acquaintance could progress to intimacy between the two men in the time available. Yet his name and connexion with Truro should be noted, if only to confirm Wesley's exclamation on referring to him, "Surely God has a favour for the people of these parts! He gives them so serious, zealous, and lively preachers", and also to establish his identity.

Walker's mention of "Petrie"[39] in connexion with Vowler, as being a great loss to him personally, arouses curiosity. No clergyman of the name appears in diocesan records, but variations in spelling make it possible that here is another missing club member, whose identity cannot now be traced.

This exhausts all available evidence which can shed any light on the composition of Walker's Clerical Club. The duration of its existence is uncertain, though it definitely continued till the summer of 1759, and perhaps later.[40] Whether it was carried on after Walker's departure from Truro is not known. Hole suggests as club members only Michell, Penrose, Vowler

[38] *Journal*, vol. iv, pp. 406, 412.
[39] Sidney, p. 438.
[40] *ib.*, p. 468.

and Philp, with Vivian "of one heart."[41] But certain general inferences can be drawn from the enumeration of the above-mentioned clergymen, whether or not in fact they were all club members.

It is significant that there were so many "awakened" clergymen at the same time in such a comparatively small and isolated area. Only one, Thomas Vivian, specifically mentions his debt to John Wesley in this respect, and Wesley's own testimony confirms that they were engaged in their zealous ministries quite independently of his itinerations. The examples of Thomson of St. Gennys and Walker of Truro prove that by one means or another the Evangelical view-point had already penetrated into this remote corner of England to a degree paralleled only among the Yorkshire group at this time. Referring to their united work, Walker wrote to Adam on one occasion, "Through much evil report we all gain ground; and I suppose there are not less than ten thousand to whom we preach the gospel, one or another of us."[42]

The Wesleyan revival, at least so far as Cornwall is concerned, was clearly a simultaneous movement with the Anglican revival, which it touched at various points, yet each continued largely independent of the other. It is notable that the Wesleys avoided preaching in places where an Evangelical ministry was already exercised, though this did not prevent John Wesley from forming Methodist societies in these parishes, or their followers from trying to draw away members of the Anglican Church to join them. But Walker's clear-sighted leading set a standard of procedure with which there is no evidence that his brethren disagreed. His club, acting through "regular" channels, stimulated each member in his individual ministry. They never opposed the work of the Methodists, but rather strove to correct their irregularities, so that they might remain within the Anglican Church, to its great enrichment, while themselves providing focal points for the spiritual forces in Cornwall.

[41] *Christian Observer*, 1877, p. 153.
[42] Sidney, p. 79.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARCHBISHOPRICS IN EUROPE, 800-1500

By I. P. SHAW

In the year 1500 there were some five hundred and fifty bishopric in Europe, grouped into eighty-five ecclesiastical provinces, whose rulers, the metropolitans or archbishops, acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. Of these archbishoprics many owed their existence to the reforming zeal of the eleventh and twelfth century popes, but more than twenty in the West could claim at least seven centuries of unbroken succession. For this the work of Charlemagne had been responsible. As the nominal re-founder but the virtual founder of the archiepiscopal provinces within his empire his ecclesiastical policy proved definitive. Few indeed of his institutions were established to such enduring effect, for the twenty-one metropolitan cities specified in his testament[1] maintained their pride of place as the seat of an archbishopric until the Revolution of 1789,[2] whilst eleven of them, surviving that cataclysm, survived the dissolution of the Empire itself in 1806. But Charlemagne was more than the territorial architect of the ecclesiastical organization of mediæval Europe: in his church policy may be seen in microcosm many of the complex and divergent elements which made of the Church's unity a splendid, formal hollowness. The appointment and control of metropolitans lay with the king-emperor as it had lain with his Merovingian predecessors, and Charles availed himself of the reforms effected by St. Boniface for purposes of State. The Churchmen were his administrators and his servants first, not the agents of a

[1] See below, p. 104.

[2] Two exceptions must be made: Grado was suppressed in 1451, but Venice became a patriarchate in its place. In 1751 Aquileia was also suppressed, and divided into the two archbishoprics of Udine and Goritz.

distant pope. More important for the future was the choice of cities as archbishoprics: Charles fully recognized the traditional claims of the capitals of the ancient Roman provinces such as Tarentaise, Embrun, Vienna or Rouen, but he also secured the recognition of former Roman capitals which were now the centres of the regional and local spirit of the Empire's barbarian conquerors—Bourges and Bordeaux in Aquitaine, Lyons and Arles in Burgundy, Mainz, Trier and Cologne for the East Franks, Sens and Rheims for the Neustrians, whilst in the south-east Salzburg was openly a *landeskirche*[3] for the Bavarians. To contemporaries in A.D. 800 there was probably nothing that was dangerous and much that was glorious in this reconstitution of the imperial cities and their dignity. Yet little did more to strengthen the nascent development of the future European kingdoms on Charlemagne's death than the existence of these archbishoprics. The history of Europe from 800 to 1500 illustrates the fact that as in turn each people acquired its group consciousness as kingdom, duchy, county or republic, it sought to secure archiepiscopal rank for its chief bishops. Rome was only too well aware of the separatist tendencies implied in the emergence of these claims, and the varying attitude of the papacy towards the great central problems of the Middle Ages—the rise of nationalities, the struggle between Church and State, the contradictory conceptions of "Germanic Christianity" and Canon Law, is reflected in the varying attitude adopted by the popes towards the problem of the archbishopric bequeathed them by Charlemagne.

Metropolitan bishops had existed in the West before this great Carolingian consolidation, but their powers and position had been chequered and uncertain.[4] From the early days of the fourth century the territorial organization of the Christian Church had been closely modelled on that of the Roman Empire. The Council of Nicea in 325 had laid down that the

[3] See below, p. 103.

[4] Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, iii, pt. 3, c. iv, on which much of this paragraph is based.

metropolitan's sphere of authority should correspond to the civil province, his church being in the metropolis or chief city, just as the bishop's authority centred in the *civitates* which made up the province. And each province was to have its metropolitan who should preside twice a year at a council of these bishops. The difference between a metropolitan and a bishop, from the beginning, was thus a difference of rank not of order, and it is perhaps worthy of note that the term "archbishop" was not used by the Council of Nicea except to describe the status of the bishop of Alexandria,[5] whose exceptional position as the chief of six wealthy and well-organized provinces demanded an exceptional title. But the designation "Patriarch" and not "archbishop" during the sixth century came to be ascribed to the ecclesiastical dignitaries of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria whose rank in the Church was analogous to that of the *Vicarius*, the ruler of the civil diocese or group of imperial provinces.[6] Indeed the evolution of the term archbishop is both unsatisfactory and obscure in the West: it was not in general use as a synonym for metropolitan until the sixth century, and as late as the time of Gregory I the metropolitan of Cagliari was addressed indiscriminately as bishop or archbishop.[7]

It would appear, moreover, that the ecclesiastical hierarchy was established later and perhaps less completely in Western Europe than elsewhere[8]—at least not before the last quarter of the fourth century. But here, as in the East, the civic importance of the imperial cities was the decisive factor. In 398 the Council of Turin clearly stated the principle on which metropolitans were recognized: "The bishop whose city is a (civil) metropolis shall have the dignity of primate in the

[5] Canon 6.

[6] Fliche et Martin, iii, p. 440 ff.

[7] See letters of Gregory I, *passim*, in Migne, P.L. lxxvi. In this connexion see Homes-Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, I, p. 434, for statement that the title "archbishop" of Ravenna does not occur before 666.

[8] Fliche et Martin, iii, p. 216 ff, and p. 457 ff.

whole province . . . "[9] The civil distinction of the capital of Constantine thus enabled St. Ambrose[10] to build up the great position for Milan at the end of the fourth century, and it was for the same reason that Arles, since 395 the capital of the Prefecture of the Gauls, aspired to the primatial dignity of the Viennensis.[11] Even the claims of Rome were basically analogous. The city of St. Peter was still the city of the world, if no longer its capital, and Rome's future greatness lay in this double heritage from her past. There St. Jerome, addressing himself to the successor of the fisherman, found the clearest light of the universe: there, too, councils and bishops found that ultimate reserve of judgment which emperors were to confirm and sustain. But the secular legacy was scarcely less great than the spiritual. Rome, for Lactantius, is "that city, that only, which still sustains all things",[12] and the Council assembled at Constantinople in 381 would appear to have been equally conscious of Rome's civil and political traditions when it formally accorded the old capital the well-known primacy of honour.

It took centuries to convert this primacy of honour into a primacy of power, and one of the ways by which the papacy achieved its ambitions was through the control and organization of the metropolitans. For the barbarian conquerors of the Empire retained, especially in the ecclesiastical sphere, something of its administrative organization. In Gaul many of the cities survived and so, too, did their bishops. Despite the undoubted decline in their moral and literary standards, the

[9] It was at this same council that the claims of the Bishop of Marseilles to be a "Metropolitan" because his see was the oldest in all Provence, were tactfully liquidated.

[10] It is noteworthy that both he and his successor, Simplicius, were addressed by the popes as "Bishop" of Milan. Jaffé, I, 252, 276.

[11] The diplomacy of the fathers at Turin in 398 assigned four suffragans each to Arles and Vienna, but this did not settle the dispute, which continued for centuries.

[12] Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, Bk. VIII, c. xxv (Trans. in Ante Nicene Christian Library, Vol. XXI).

clergy were now the only relatively educated class, and there can be little question that they sought by every means to advance the pretensions of their cities which tradition might justify and the ignorance of their new masters make easy. The episcopate, moreover, was recruited from the noble, ruling class among the barbarians, and as the natural counsellors of the secular rulers, lost no opportunity to encourage gifts and grants to the Church. The status of the bishops of the former Roman provincial capitals was maintained, though their position *vis-á-vis* their comprovincial bishops was weaker, just as their position with regard to Rome was stronger than it had been in the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus in 506 at the Council of Agde, the Bishop of Bourges, the capital of Aquitania prima, subscribed as *episcopus ecclesiae Biturive metropolis*—he was a metropolitan bishop, although he exercised no authority over the other bishops within the province of Aquitaine.[13]

The humiliations experienced by Rome during the time of Justinian's ascendancy in Italy must have strengthened the independence of the French and Spanish bishops, and in this connexion Gregory I's attitude towards the metropolitans at the end of the sixth century is particularly interesting. The caution and accommodation which mark his whole policy are specially evident here. He clearly realized the value of the metropolitan system, but made no attempt to emphasize the dependence of the archbishops on Rome. He might be constrained by political reasons to send the pallium to an obviously undeserving bishop[14] in Gaul or quarrel about its use by the metropolitan of Ravenna, or send it, as his predecessors had done for two hundred years, as a mark of friendship and distinction—but not of authority—to a bishop in Spain or Illyricum. In England, where he had a fresh field, when he sent Augustine to evangelize the natives, Gregory's design envisaged two metropolitan churches in the island, one at

[13] L. de Lacger, *La primauté de Bourges,* in *Révue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* Vol. XXVI, p. 43.

[14] Syagrius, Bishop of Autun, whose metropolitan at Lyons had not received this scarf. Homes-Dudden, II, p. 60.

London, the other at York, each surrounded by twelve suffragans. Older records, possibly accessible to the pope but lost to us, may have dictated this choice of cities.[15] But political forces nullified Gregory's paper-scheme, and Canterbury, the capital of the Kentish kingdom, became and remained St. Augustine's metropolis.[16] England, conquered afresh for Christianity, also affords an excellent example of the racial significance of bishoprics—each one was set up for a particular tribe or people, and when, at the end of the eighth century, the Mercian kings became rulers of all England, their chief bishopric was correspondingly exalted. In 787 Offa secured archiepiscopal rank for Lichfield, though the move was so purely political that its dignity scarcely survived his death, and the city's first archbishop was also its last.[17]

With the same eighth century the horizons of Europe were narrowed. Africa and the Visigothic kingdoms were lost to Christendom, but in Gaul, after the long Merovingian night, there was an awakening, and ecclesiastically this was of immense importance.

Fortunately for Rome, the conversion of Germany was carried out by an Englishman who combined the missionary spirit of the Celtic Church with the Roman sense of order. St. Boniface not only evangelized the inhabitants of Thuringia and Bavaria, he also organized their districts into bishoprics. Further still he attempted to revive the authority of metro-

[15] Fliche et Martin, iii, 465, where the possibility of metropolitans existing in England before the Roman withdrawal is dealt with rather tersely. See also Bingham, *Origines*, Bk. II, ch. xviii, Sec. 4, and Wilkin's *Concilia*, I, p. 26, for the statement that the British Church, in 597 recognized an informal superiority of the bishop (or archbishop?) of Caerleon-on-Usk.

[16] York did not attain the same rank till 735; London never.

[17] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 214-224. The only other English see which ever aspired to metropolitan rank was Winchester, in 1141. But this was so intimately connected with the personal ambition of Henry of Blois, that it was in no sense a national question.

politans,[18] summoning provincial synods with the assent of Carloman, after they had been in abeyance for more than eighty years. In 744, at the council of Soissons,[19] one metropolitan was established at Rheims and another in Sens, both cities old Roman provincial capitals, whilst Boniface himself became Archbishop of Mainz, probably in 747. At the outset, these reforming, conciliar activities of St. Boniface encountered much opposition, but three factors made for their stability: the emergence of the metropolitans was agreeable alike to the tradition of papal policy, to the political ambition of the secular ruler, and to the personal vanity of the prelates concerned. It was, however, only slowly that these interests prevailed, and it would be a mistake to consider Boniface as the founder of the metropolitical organization of the Church. For years after his death the succession in the archbishoprics was uncertain—even at Mainz Lul was at first a bishop[20] until he was " constituted an archbishop " by Pope Hadrian in 782. It would appear, too, that the Bonifacian reforms, coupled with the alliance between Pepin and the Church in 754, had some influence on the increased importance attached to the gift of the pallium, which during this period became the specific symbol of a metropolitan's authority.[21] Originally an Eastern vestment, it was apparently worn of right in Italy by the Bishops of Rome, Ostia[22] and Ravenna,[23] but popes frequently sent this famous scarf as a mark of friendship or favour to other Western ecclesiastics. Its possession was certainly considered

[18] " . . . . *omnes episcopi debent metropolitano, et ipse Romano pontifice . . . notum facere.* Ep. lxiii (A.D. 748.)

[19] Labbe, VI, 1552.

[20] Hauck, *Kirchen Geschichte Deutschlands,* II, 212 ff. *pallium illi . . . transmittamus . . . et in eadem s. ecclesia Maguntina archiepiscopum constitutum esse faciamus.*

[21] *Decrevimus autem . . . metropolitanos pallia ab illa Sede (Roma) quærere. . .* Ep. Bonifatii, lxiii.

[22] The Bishop of Ostia, later Dean of the College of Cardinals, consecrated the Pope.

[23] Doubtless due to Ravenna's position as capital of the Exarchate.

an honour, but it did not confer any jurisdiction, nor, at least in the time of Gregory the Great, was it held by every metropolitan. But during the second half of the eighth century it was becoming customary, if not essential, for an archbishop to receive the pallium,[24] and here is revealed the power which Charlemagne exercised over the papacy, for it was nominally " at his prayer ", but in practice at his behest, that the usus parli was acquired by the metropolitans of Bourges,[25] Cologne and Rouen.[26]

It was the genius of Charlemagne which gave lasting effect to these changes. At the same time the establishment of the archbishoprics illustrated his political supremacy, just as the contemporary exaltation of Lichfield reflected that of Offa. Discretion, if not impotence, at Rome dictated co-operation, but the initiative in setting up these ecclesiastical provinces lay with the secular rulers. The papacy sanctioned and acquiesced in this policy, even when, as in the case of Salzburg, the principle of the *landeskirche* was openly avowed. In 790, Duke Tassilo secured metropolitan status for the Bishop of Salzburg, frankly asking that his region of Bavaria should thus be accorded recognition as an ecclesiastical unit.[27] Later, particularly in the eleventh century, the popes made a tremendous effort to secure the dependence of the archbishops on Rome, but throughout the Middle Ages the provinces remained, as virtually they had begun, as the territorial expression of religious particularism. And it is perhaps permissible to stress that this contribution to the organization of European society was essentially a northern, a " Germanic " contribution. The strong sense of individualism which made for the growth of the " proprietary Church right " in the English and Frankish

[24] In England, Hygebeorht, the new Archbishop of Lichfield, received his pallium from Rome before the end of 788. Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[25] Lacger, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[26] Hauck, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[27] *ib.*, p. 215.

realms, found a wider but basically similar expression in the arrangement of tribal bishoprics. From the fourth century the papacy had recognized the existence of this localism in Church affairs beyond the Alps, and regional churches had existed long before A.D. 800. Charles the Great's work was thus both to restore and to innovate—to revive the Roman conception of the metropolitan city and the metropolitan bishop within his empire, and at the same time by this very measure to strengthen and encourage the national and separatist spirit which triumphed so signally after his death. In the ecclesiastical sphere, as in others, his "Roman" Empire seems artificial, yet he displayed all the barbarian's genius for adapting old forms to new purposes, and the national kingdoms which emerged from the wreck of his State owed not a little to the support of those archbishoprics which Charles had founded anew.

In his testament, drawn up in 811, Charlemagne made certain eleemosynary bequests.[29] The churches of the twenty-one metropolitan cities comprised within his kingdom were the beneficiaries. Fortunately their names have been preserved, and the list furnishes the first reliable authority for their existence. There were five such cities in Italy—Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Aquileia (Friule or Cividale), and Grado: Carolingian Gaul contained the remaining sixteen—Cologne, Mainz, Trier, Salzburg, Sens, Rouen, Rheims, Bordeaux, Tours, Bourges, Besançon, Lyons, Vienna, Arles, Tarentaise and Embrun. In addition Narbonne[30] and Eauze,[31] in the south of France, were the seats of metropolitans. One city, Aix-en-Provence, with some justice claimed the same status as early as 794 at the Council of Frankfort, but not until 828 did its bishop achieve his aim.[32] For the rest, the ninth century saw only one new

[29] Einhardt, *Vita Caroli*, ed. Halphen, pp. 95-97.

[30] Hauck, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

[31] L. Peuch, *Histoire de la Gascogne*, p. 52. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclesiastiques*, Vol. V., col. 278.

[32] *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre et Duchesne, pp. 181-2.

official archbishopric, Bremen-Hamburg[33] (*c.* 845). This was instituted as the metropolitan Church for the Scandinavian North, a position which its occupants were slow to forget and which they strove to make good long after the Scandinavian countries had acquired their own archbishoprics.

At very nearly the same date the disruption of the Carolingian empire led to an interesting development in its extreme western corner. Breton separatism, unsatisfied with the political independence of Nomenoë, endeavoured to achieve ecclesiastical autonomy as well, and the Bishop of Dol claimed to be the metropolitan of the Breton Church.[34] This pretension was never finally recognized by Rome, although until 1196 Dol exercised some measure of practical independence of Tours, in a position analagous to that existing between Canterbury and St. David's.[35] This Breton incident is not without wider significance; it illustrates vividly the growth of that local spirit which arose out of the ruin of Charles the Great's empire, and was to become in time a national consciousness. It has often been stressed that the Church, in its government, furnished the pattern of order and authority which the secular rulers of Europe sought to emulate: it has perhaps not been sufficiently recognized that this ecclesiastical example was not œcumenical, but local, and that from the eighth century until the eleventh the territorial organization of the archbishoprics of

[33] *Histoire d'hist. et de géog. eccl.*, Vol. X, cols. 510 ff. Founded in 811, Hamburg became an archbishopric in 831. The city was destroyed in 845, and in 847 at the Synod of Mainz, Louis the German decreed that the Archdiocese should be united with Bremen. The two chapters remained quite distinct, co-operating only to elect the archbishop.

[34] The dispute between Dol and Tours dragged on for centuries. As late as the end of the thirteenth century Boniface VIII granted Theobald of Dol exemption, for his lifetime, from the control of his metropolitan at Tours. Boase, *Boniface VIII*, p. 112.

[35] Here again the bishops of St. David's claimed to be independent of Canterbury. Gerald of Wales failed to establish this claim—see R. L. Poole *The Papal Chancery*, Appendix VI—but as late as the reign of Edward I, Archbishop Pecham had to get a judgement from Rome to support the rights of Canterbury.

the West was a very powerful force in the development of nations. Its influence, however, must not be put too high. In no country in Europe, except possibly in the region round Rome, was the secular power ever subordinated in practice to the spiritual. The archbishops, even at the time of their greatest influence, always remained the servants of their temporal overlords. The custom of lay appointment and lay investiture, and the problems and disputes to which these gave rise, were based on this relationship. Individually as statesmen, saints or scholars, the occupants of the great metropolitan sees may have eclipsed their masters, but they never supplanted them.

The career of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, exemplifies the power and independence of the ninth century archbishops. His royal kinship, great learning,[36] political acumen and longevity, combined to make him the leading figure in the West Frankish kingdom. Hincmar had a very clear conception of the rights of his office as expressed in his treatise *De Jure Metropolitanorum*, and it is significant that the Pseudo-Isidore or False Decretals, which appeared about 850, strengthened both the papal and episcopal cause as against that of the metropolitans, and may even have been prompted by Hincmar's somewhat overbearing attitude. The archbishop protested, but would not carry his Gallicanism to the length of defying Rome, and in 877 the papacy, anxious to consolidate its position, laid down at the council of Ravenna that all metropolitans, within three months of their consecration, should make their profession of faith to the apostolic see and receive from it their pallium.[37] Later, in the time of Hildebrand, the pope altered this declaration of faith into an oath of canonical obedience.

The revival of imperial power under Otto I saw a close alliance between the monarchy and the episcopate in Germany,

[36] But he was not above employing forgery to magnify the primatial claims of his own see of Rheims in his "Life" of St.Remi.

[37] This was not by any means the first time that this papal claim had been enunciated. It appears as early as the pontificate of Damascus I (366-384) but is a forgery—Jaffé, I. 250.

and ecclesiastically the recently-acquired territories in the North-East were consolidated by the creation of Otto's favourite town of Magdeburg as the centre of a new province (967). But the first Saxon emperor controlled the papacy less completely than Charlemagne had done, and before Otto's death in 973, Rome had conceded to the emperor's Lombard rivals in southern Italy, the archiepiscopal dignity for some of their cities. Capua[38] was the first city to be thus honoured, and the case has several interesting features. John XIII had found a temporary refuge with Pandulf "Iron head" and in 966 to please his host, constituted Capua the seat of a metropolitan. This was done at the expense of the theoretic unity of the suburbicarian diocese of Rome, but the pope's concession really increased his authority and prepared the way for the triumph of the Roman Church in the south of the peninsula. This papal policy was implemented rapidly and consistently. In 969, on May 26, Benevento,[39] the new Lombard capital, was created an archbishopric by the pope; Naples, as the capital of the duchy of Naples,[40] acquired the same rank, probably in 970, Salerno about 985, Amalfi a year or so later to console the Duke of Amalfi who had been driven from Salerno, and lastly Sorrento (*c.* 990). These tiny provinces corresponded geographically to the areas over which the Lombards held sway: they were neither dignified nor wealthy, but their establishment gratified the vanity and independence of their temporal masters, weakened the influence of the Church of Constantinople, and enhanced that of Rome.

Before the close of the tenth century one other archbishopric was set up in Western Europe, at Vich, in Spain.[41] Here again the initiative lay with the secular ruler, Borrel,

[38] *Liber Censuum*, p. 41.

[39] *ib.*, p. 34. At first Benevento had 10 suffragans, in 1192 it had 22, by 1374 the archbishop claimed 32.

[40] As early as the time of Leo the Isaurian (718-741) Naples had been counted among the Greek archbishoprics—*Lib. Cens.*, p. 41.

[41] Jaffé, 3746, 3748. Vich retained the rank till 1091, when Tarragona, in Saracen hands since 970, was recaptured and given back its old rank. (Jaffé, 5450.)

Count of Barcelona, who in 970 journeyed to Rome and persuaded John XIII to grant archiepiscopal rank to his capital. With Borrel came his protegé, Gerbert of Aurillac, who thus learned at first hand much that was to serve him in good stead both as archbishop and as pope; for as Archbishop of Rheims he advocated a Gallicanism exceeding that of Hincmar's, whilst as Sylvester II, tradition at least associated his name with remarkable religious privileges to St. Stephen of Hungary.[42]

The coming of the Normans to Apulia and Calabria in the eleventh century had a decisive effect on the ecclesiastical organization of those districts. During the latter half of the tenth century, the period of restoration of Byzantine power, Constantinople had set up archbishops responsible to the eastern patriarch at Bari, Brindisi, Otranto, Tarento, Reggio[43] and Santa-Severina. As the Normans conquered the country, these cities were allowed to retain their archiepiscopal status in communion with the Roman Church. Here was one of the more solid advantages gained by the Papacy as a result of its alliance with the Normans following the battle of Civitate (1053). The territorial limits of the provinces were altered in most cases, but only Bari, perhaps too Hellenistic in outlook, and certainly too extensive, suffered dismemberment by the establishment of Trani as the seat of a new archbishop (*c.* 1070). Rossano, a tiny city in Calabria, received the same rank as a favour, to detach it from Byzantium, but the archbishop had no suffragans, and the Greek liturgy continued in use until the days of the Angevins.[44] Elsewhere in the south of Italy purely strategic conditions determined the rise of the new ecclesiastical centres. Guiscard attached great military importance to strong points such as Conza and Acerenza in Apulia, and to

[42] See below, p. 112.

[43] *Lib. Cens.*, pp. 20-23. Reggio and Santa Severina were probably of an older, early ninth century Greek foundation.

[44] *Lib. Cens.*, p. 23. The two bishoprics of San Marco and Bisignano, like Rossano itself, were immediately subject to Rome. See Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica, I*, p. 423.

Cosenza in Calabria, and each of these three towns was made an archbishopric by his papal ally. The last of the eighteen metropolitan sees which Robert Guiscard thus controlled before his death in 1085, was Siponto. United with Benevento since the seventh century, Siponto was separated about 1040, but claimed and kept the new rank of its former partner.[45]

This rapid multiplication of small and penurious archiepiscopal sees in Italy[46] occurred at the time when Rome was assuming the lead in the Reform movement—a movement fraught with vital issues for the metropolitans of Europe. Cardinal Humbert of Moyenmontier realized their power and influence, and the need for Rome to control them, and Hildebrand, his practical disciple, treated archbishops—as one of them bitterly complained—like bailiffs. Reform implied centralization, and centralization was to be achieved by the extended employment of legates *a latere* who threatened the interests, if not the survival, of archiepiscopal pre-eminence. Legates, indeed, had been used by Rome for centuries, but never with such continual and effective pressure as during the eleventh century. They took precedence of the metropolitan at his own provincial council, they were to control, check, admonish and guide the men who ruled the regional churches, and this to be achieved through a devotion bordering on intransigeance which reflected only too well the novel claims of St. Peter and his remarkable vicar.

With regard to the status of archbishops, the Gregorian Reform led to two interesting developments. In the twelfth century the papacy deliberately increased the number of metropolitan sees, thus reducing their prestige, whilst the occupants of the more ancient provinces on the continent endeavoured to acquire for themselves the position, authority, and even the

[45] *ibid.*, p. 32. It received no suffragan, however, till Paschal II made Viesti subject to it.

[46] And in Sardinia also, where Cagliari (1052), Torres (1052-1441), and Oristano (1053), were created after the Genoese and Pisans had expelled the Saracens.

title of legates: they claimed to be recognized as *legati nati,* and to exercise an undefined authority over their compeers by reviving the dignity and title of Primate.[47] It is not intended here to discuss the evolution and significance of this new rank, which certainly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was meant to be above that of an archbishop, but it may be remarked that where precedence was involved, metropolitans rarely displayed the humility they enjoined on their inferiors. The primatial dispute between Canterbury and York, settled in the end by an adjectival compromise, was long and bitter. The Archbishop of Toledo, on the day before the formal opening of the Lateran Council in 1215, made a spirited claim to the primacy over Braga, Compostella, Tarragona and Narbonne, and was only quietened with difficulty.[48] The rights of Bourges to the Aquitanian primacy were brought up at a Parlement de Paris as late as 1710, though Innocent XI ignored them.[49] Further instances could be cited, culminating, perhaps, with the address of the Archbishop of Vienne, who styled himself "primate of the primates of Gaul." But whatever its value in the two preceding centuries, by 1350 the title of primate was purely honorific, conveying no active superiority. Meanwhile Rome had not been idle.

If in the eleventh century the pope could not always carry with him the metropolitans of England or Germany, tied as these men were to their local interests and local masters, at least the attempt had been made, and in the next century the continued struggle between the lay powers and the papacy led to the further weakening of archiepiscopal independence. At the same time the twelfth century was the age *par excellence*

[47] The reasons for the extension of this term in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are by no means clear. The title was very old. It seems safest at present to agree with Hinschius' view that the rise of the *legati nati* and the primates was closely interconnected.

[48] Hefele-Leclerc, *Histoire des Conciles,* iv, 2, 1319.

[49] When Albi was made an ecclesiastical province at the expense of Bourges, 1675-1700. See Beaunier-Besse, *Abbayes et Prieurés de l'ancienne France,* iv, p. 2 ff.

of the creation of new ecclesiastical provinces. But while the popes authorized new archbishoprics in Spain, Ireland, Scandinavia, Hungary, Poland, Sicily and the Adriatic littoral, they continually sought to exalt their own supremacy at the expense of both their old and new subordinates. In spite of the nine anti-popes between 1100 and 1180, the papacy increased its control over the episcopate. The synods at Rome were more frequent, the College of Cardinals grew in strength and importance, the Canon Law, as expressed in Gratian's great recension, heightened the position and power of the pope, whilst as the supreme referee, the universal ordinary, the pope's authority was illustrated by a judicial and administrative centralization which the secular rulers of the West were soon to copy.

To reconcile their own ambitions with the corporate spirit of the new kingdoms, the popes freely granted the pallium to genuine claimants and on occasion political duress obliged them to satisfy the aspirations of those whose claims were not so good. In the Iberian peninsula, as the Saracens were driven southwards, the old metropolitan cities of Spain recovered their ancient dignity at the hands of the papacy. Toledo, Braga, Tarragona regained their metropolitans: Compostella, rich and famous through the shrine of St. James, was in a more difficult position: its bishops (who had removed their cathedral from Iria to Compostella in the tenth century), wished to be suffragan neither to Toledo nor Braga,[50] and in their quandary the papacy came to their aid. In 1095 Urban II granted them exemption from all metropolitical control, and under his successor, in 1104, Bishop Diego of Compostella received the pallium.

The pontificate of Urban II (1087-1099) marked another important change in papal policy. The economic wealth and crusading zeal of the north Italian cities made their support of great value; in 1092 Urban made Pisa into an archbishopric, and confirmed the new metropolitan as "Archbishop of Cor-

[50] *Lib. Cens.*, p. 219. In Visigothic times Iria was suffragan to Braga, the metropolis of Galicia.

sica."[51] This was the first rift in the unity of the suburbicarian diocese of Rome in northern Italy, and showed the papacy embarking on the same policy which it had followed for a century in the south. To placate Pisa's great commercial rival, and to ensure its support against his rival Anacletus II, Innocent II created Genoa an archbishopric in 1133.

Simultaneously the new kingdoms in eastern Europe, Poland and Hungary claimed the papal attention. Legend and forgeries attested the establishment of an archbishopric at Gnezen[52] by Otto III, and of both a kingdom, and an ecclesiastical hierarchy dependent on Gran[53] by Sylvester II in the same year, A.D. 1000. But in each country there followed a century of pagan reaction and record uncertainty.[54] Not until 1102-1138 did Rome set up a definite episcopal organization in Poland of seven bishops under the primacy of Gnezen, and during the same period in Hungary, Gran with five suffragans, and Kaloesa-Bacs[55] with four, emerge recognizably as the two Magyar archbishoprics.

In Scandinavia again the papacy considered it either necessary or convenient to recognize the nascent national divisions. Lund had been made the seat of an archbishop in 1103-4, and in 1152-3 a legation was sent to the northern countries expressly to determine the question of new provinces. As a result of this enquiry under Cardinal Boso, Trondheim (Nidaros)

[51] Jaffé, 5464. This was done *petente Mathilda comitissa.* See also Eubel, *op. cit.*, I, 399. In 1198 the Archbishop of Pisa was confirmed as the Primate of the Province of Torres, and granted recognition as the Primate of Cagliari and Oristano as well. The first continental, as opposed to insular suffragan accorded to Pisa was Massa Maritima (1138).

[52] *Lib. Cens.*, p. 150 ff. Even tradition, it is noteworthy to remark, ascribed Otto's action to the prayer of Prince Boleslav.

[53] The famous bull of 27th March, 1000, to St. Stephen of Hungary.

[54] *" Episcopi terrae vestrae, non habentes certum metropolitanae sedis locum. . . ."* Letter of Gregory VII to the Polish bishops in 1075.

[55] Several occupants of the see were translated to Gran in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Eubel, *op. cit.*, I, 197.

became the centre of an archbishopric embracing Norway, Greenland, Iceland, the Faroes and the scarcely more civilized Orkneys and Hebrides.[56] Upsala followed, ten years later in 1164, as the Swedish metropolis. That these twelfth century archbishoprics were the centres of a strong local, if not national, spirit is suggested by two incidents from the pontificate of Innocent II (1130-1143). The archbishops of Bremen-Hamburg had resented bitterly the dismemberment of their limitless northern province by the creation of Lund in 1103, and their compatriots, the Archbishops of Magdeburg, similarly objected to the establishment of Gnezen. In 1133, Pope Innocent, hard pressed politically, and in desperate need of German support, put Lund under the primacy of Bremen and Gnezen under that of Magdeburg. In practice the papal command had no effect, and even officially was revoked three years later, whilst in 1180, Alexander III approved the decrees of a " national " synod of the eight Polish bishops meeting under the presidency of the Archbishop of Gnezen.[57]

Contemporaneously with the ecclesiastical settlement in Scandinavia, in one of the wilder countries on the borders of the Christian world, a papal representative had brought diocesan order to the Irish Church. Under the able management of Cardinal Paparo the Synod of Kells (1152) implemented the decisions made at the Synod of Rath Breasail (1118), and had divided Ireland into the four archbishoprics,[58] which, with their twenty-seven suffragans were to provide that country with one lasting if factitious stability. The case is interesting: there had been no political compulsion or incentive,

[56] The mediaeval Bishop of the Isles, Sodor and Man (see Eubel, *op. cit.*, I, 456) was suffragan to Trondheim, 1154-1425. Man was officially suffragan to York by 1433, the Isles remaining a Scottish see, eventually subject to St. Andrews and later to Glasgow. The present joint title of " Sodor and Man " commemorates the Norwegian " Sudreys " or southern islands. (See *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 208.)

[57] *Lib. Cens.*, pp. 150 ff; 226 ff.

[58] The four archbishoprics were Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam. There were no exempt sees.

and no political cohesion resulted. None of the Irish sees was wealthy, and as in the Arelate, and in Italy, a numerous, poor, though highly organized episcopate proved unequal, on its own, to the task of forming a national society in the middle ages.

On the other hand, in regions where the secular power was firmly established and consciously aggressive the influence of the metropolitans was small. It would be idle to maintain that in southern Italy they did much to strengthen Roger II's remarkable kingdom. Rather his own peculiar position as apostolic legate lessened what influence they might have exerted, and in Sicily, where the king's power was greatest, the archbishoprics were established the last of any in his dominions. Messina in 1166, Moureale 1182, both of them after Roger's death and nearly a century after the conquest of the island.[59]

By the accession of Innocent III in 1198 the territorial organization of the Church in Western Europe had been largely completed.[60] The very composition of the Lateran Council of 1215 threw into relief the primacy of Rome, and it is significant that throughout the whole of the thirteenth century, when the papal power was at its zenith, only two cities received a new archbishop—Riga in 1246[61] and Seville in 1248, and in neither case did political pressure influence Innocent IV. The Avignon popes were equally cautious: Saragossa became a province in 1318, and in the same year John XXII created Toulouse an archbishopric. He had good reason for this last act, and indeed for his somewhat sweeping reconstitution of bishoprics in all the south of France, for the whole district had been a hot-

[59] Gregory VII had confirmed the metropolitan rights of the church of Palermo, and given Bishop Alcherius the pallium in 1083. Jaffé, 5258.

[60] Four archbishoprics had been established in Dalmatia before 1200—Ragusa, Spalato, Zara and Antivari. Political and economic reasons again here played a large part in their history. See *Lib. Cens.*, pp. 134-139 and 140-144.

[61] Eubel I, 420, states that in 1246 occurs the first mention of an Archbishop "of Prussia." By 1253 he was called Archbishop of Riga.

bed of heresy and unrest for centuries.[62] The pope was himself a Frenchman, and his policy in Languedoc was one of genuine internal reorganization. Toulouse as a diocese was too big, too rich, too populous, too troublesome for one pastor, and so the pope divided it, making Toulouse itself a new archbishopric at the expense of Narbonne. But as he told Philip V, he also wished *per consequens regnum tuum speciali quadam honorificentia decorare.*[63] In the case of the other three new archbishoprics of the fourteenth century, Prague (1344) was set up specifically to emphasize the ecclesiastical independence of the Bohemian kingdom, and Halicz (1375)[64] and Lisbon (1394) similarly owed their elevation to political factors.

The reformed papacy of the fifteenth century established two new provinces in northern Italy, at Florence in 1420 and at Siena in 1459. Both these creations were actuated by local political and economic reasons, as was the more important suppression of the patriarchate[65] of Grado in 1451, and its transference to Venice. In Spain the constant retreat of the Moors resulted in the elevation of Valencia (1458) and Granada (1492) as centres of new provinces. Avignon was made an archbishopric and given three suffragans in 1475 at the expense of Arles, in order to gratify the vanity of a cardinal who was later to become pope.[66] Scotland, which had been granted independence of the Archbishop of York by a bull of Celestine III in 1192, but where the individual sees all remained immediately subject to the pope, received its first metropolitan, St. Andrews,

[62] It should be remembered that, financially, the papacy benefited by some 27,900 florins as *servitia communia* payable by the sixteen new bishoprics.

[63] Gallia Christiana XIII, Instr. cols. 55-58 for bull of creation, and the pope's letter to Philip V informing him of the fact.

[64] Transferred to Lvov, 1413.

[65] As early as 552 the Bishop of Aquileia took the title of Patriarch. By 607 the Lombard invasion had necessitated a withdrawal to Grado, protected by its lagoons, and from then the bishops of Grado also claimed the title. *Lib. Cens.*, p. 123 ff.

[66] Eubel, II, 16. Julian della Rovere, later Julius II.

in 1472. Twenty years later Glasgow was raised to the same rank.

This brief survey of the establishment of archbishoprics in Western Europe has only attempted to discover when and where they were set up. The more difficult question as to why they were erected requires a fuller and more elaborate study. But certain tendencies in mediæval policy are noticeable which it is hoped further research may confirm. The popes would seem to have been more conscious of the existence and ambitions of the various separate nation groups than is commonly allowed. The late Professor Z. N. Brooke has written, "Ecclesiastically the Church was a unity, 'the undivided garment of Christ', divided for purposes of administration into provinces and sees."[67] He shows that within this unity the popes recognized and wrote about the English, the Gallican, the Scottish or the Hungarian Churches in the thirteenth century, and he gives Archbishop Hubert Walter's definition of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* as "that portion of the Western Church which the Most High has planted in England."[68] It may be remarked here that these portions or provinces[69] were ruled by Churchmen who from early times had been natives, great feudal magnates who were the close counsellors and often the relatives of the king or prince; whose translation to archiepiscopal sees in another province of the Church was rare in practice[70] and forbidden in theory, for the Church would not countenance a pastor who did not know the idiom of his flock.[71] The freedom of episcopal elections, the freedom from lay control, the freedom to obey the pope, would not appear to have meant the election of foreigners, or the following of an ecclesiastical policy at variance with that of the secular rulers, or generally obedience to papal rather than royal commands when the two were

[67] Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy*, p. 23.
[68] *ib.*, p. 21.
[69] *ib.*, p. 12, where Innocent III's expression *Anglicana provincia* is quoted.
[70] Eubel. Vol. I and Vol. II *passim* under metropolitan sees.
[71] G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions*, p. 117.

opposed. Moreover, Rome never presumed to split or divide the great sees of Northern France,[72] of Germany, or of England, and in this same area of "Germanic" Christianity, the chief archbishops, at least by the fifteenth century, were regularly acknowledged as *legati nati*. This is not to suggest that the archbishoprics were rallying centres of patriotism. Rather the reverse is true; that as national sentiment consciously developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the clergy in England or in France became suspect as the representatives of that Roman internationalism which was more impressive in theory than effective in fact. A consideration of the time and place of the establishment of metropolitan sees does suggest that the geographical and political divisions of the Church were of fundamental and abiding significance; that the massive unity of the *plenitudo potestatis* concealed a diversity of local interests and local strength on which the hierarchy drew for its day-to-day work of comfort and guidance and help. A convinced and gracious exponent of papal supremacy, writing at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, admitted that the pope exercised governance over "various special churches."[73] A list of these special churches, at least from the early twelfth century, had been entered and kept, and from time to time amended, in a *Provinciale*—"A Register", says Gerald of Wales, who consulted one at Rome in 1200, "in which were enumerated for the whole Christian world, both the metropolitical churches of each kingdom in order and the episcopal

[72] Lacger, *op. cit.*, p. 47, quotes a very interesting letter of Philip Augustus to Innocent III. in 1211. When Aquitaine fell to Henry of Anjou in 1152, the Capetian Kings became strong champions of the Primacy of Bourges, and Philip II wrote that *seule, dans son royaume l'Eglise de Bourges jouit de la dignité primatiale, et que son abaissement serait considéré comme un dommage non médiocre pour le royaume lui même.*

[73] James of Viterbo, *De Regimine Christiano* (ed. H. X. Arquillière), p. 207, "... *pontifex romanus ... qui, licet mediantibus aliis pastoribus, gubernet diversas ecclesias speciales, tamen immediatum regnum exercere potest super ecclesiam quamlibet.*"

churches suffragan to them."[74] For centuries before the days of Giraldus the Popes must have perceived in these kingdoms the constituent parts of that Christendom over which they presided; and as each new political unit, royal or republican, came to maturity and self-consciousness, its full membership in the Church was recognized and acknowledged by the concession of archiepiscopal status by Rome.

I.— Ecclesiastical Provinces of the Roman Church in Europe at the death of Charlemagne.

The date given is that from which the archbishoprics are known to have had a continuous existence, which in most cases is not the same as the date of their foundation.

c. 380.	Milan	811.	Besancon.
c. 400.	Aquileia.	„	Lyons.
c. 450.	Ravenna.	„	Rouen.
597.	Canterbury.	„	Rheims. (? 790.)
607.	Grado. (Until 1451.)	„	Arles.
735.	York.	„	Vienne.
787.	Lichfield. (Until 803.)	„	Tarentaise.
		„	Embrun.
811.	Cologne.	„	Bordeaux.
„	Mainz. (? 745.)	„	Tours.
„	Salzburg. (? 790.)	„	Bourges. (? 790.)
„	Trier.	„	Eauze. (Until *c.* 850.)
„	Sens. (? 790.)	„	Narbonne.

II—Ecclesiastical Provinces of the Roman Church in Europe from 814 until 1500.

828.	Aix-en-Provence.	969.	Benevento.
831.	Hamburg. (Until 845.)	*c.* 970.	Naples.
		971.	Vich. (Until 1091.)
847.	Bremen-Hamburg.	*c.* 985.	Amalfi.
848.	Dol. (Until 1196.)	*c.* 990.	Salerno.
c. 850.	Auch. (Replacing Eauze.)	*c.* 990.	Sorrento.
		1025.	Bari.
966.	Capua.	1034.	Siponto.
968.	Magdeburg.	1050.	Rossano.

[74] R. L. Poole, *The Papal Chancery*, p. 150 and Appendix VI.

1052. Cagliari.
1052. Torres. (Until 1441.)
1053. Oristano.
1055. Acerenza.
1057. Cosenza.
1060. Conza.
1063. Taranto.
1063. Brindisi-Oria.
1067. Otranto.
1070. Trani.
c. 1073. Ragusa.
1083. Palermo.
1086. Toledo.
1091. Tarragona.
1092. Pisa.
1100. Braga.
1102. Spalato.
1102. Gnezen.
1103. Lund
1104. Compostella.
1107. Gran.
1133. Genoa.
1135. Kalocsa-Bacs.
1145. Zara.
1152. Armagh.
1152. Dublin.
1152. Cashel.
1152. Tuam.
1154. Palermo.
1154. Trondhjem.
1164. Upsala.
1166. Messina.
1182. Monreale.
1199. Antivari.
1246. Riga.
1248. Seville.
1318. Saragossa.
1318. Toulouse.
1344. Prague.
1375. Halicz. (Until 1413.)
1394. Lisbon.
1413. Lvov. (Replacing Halicz.)
1420. Florence.
1441. Sassari. (Replacing Torres.)
1451. Venice. (Patriarchate, replacing Grado.)
1458. Valencia.
1459. Siena.
1472. St. Andrews.
1475. Avignon.
1492. Glasgow.
1492. Granada.

REVIEWS

King Henry III and the Lord Edward. The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century. By F. M. Powicke. 2 vols. (The Clarendon Press.) 42s.

Dr. F. M. Powicke's magnificently printed study of England in the thirteenth century is valuable not only as treating the political history of Henry III's reign exhaustively, but as a study of an ordered community, of life and government in England under conditions very different from our own. The constitutional and administrative side of history, including that of Church history, is perhaps given the most space, as the sub-title of the volume implies; but the glimpses of social history are vivid and enlightening, and the economic history of the country, never obtruded in these volumes but always underlying them, is sufficient to make this important study three dimensional. You look at England, France, Wales and Scotland on the small screen of television, rather than in the still life of an Arundel print.

As to the contents of these volumes: first, they tell the story in detail of the French invasion and battle of Britain at the close of John's reign, a story of almost topical interest: of Henry III's household officers who governed England, his councillors and barons: of his relations with popes and legates: of his marriage with Eleanor of Provence and the pleasant excitement of the election of his brother Richard to be king of the Romans and the papal appointment of his son Edmund to be king of Sicily: of the various outbursts of opposition both to the good and the bad sides of Henry's government, especially that under Simon de Montfort: of the defeat of Henry and the Lord Edward at Lewes and their victory over Simon at Evesham the year following. Here are set forth the failure of the baronial plan of reform, the death of Henry, and the accession of Prince Edward away on crusade. Here you may read of the new work on Westminster Abbey and the new cathedral at Salisbury, and all that chronicles and records can tell of the men who ruled England: William the Marshall and Guala Bicheri the legate, who saved his kingdom for the pretty little knight, Henry, when John died: Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar, Savari de Mauléon, the troubadour, and

Fawkes de Breanté, whose name we commemorate every time the train stops at Vauxhall station: Simon de Montfort, the reformer, and Walter Ralegh, the judge, and a crowd of others; for Dr. Powicke has mown a very rich meadow. And having read all this, you will only be at the beginning, and can then settle down with enjoyment to understand the working of the King's Government, the mind of the King and his courtiers and household, the work of the sheriffs in the shires, the efforts of the lord pope and his cardinals to fill creditably the role of universal ordinary, the desire of Henry and his subjects to co-operate in this intention, provided of course that the rights and liberties of the lord King, the bishops and the lay patrons (and particularly their fiscal rights) should be in no case infringed or diminished.

The extent to which internationalism was part of the "climate of opinion" of the age is well brought out in Dr. Powicke's pages: political and religious thought was international, and so were the social orders. Not only did King Henry himself see nothing against staffing his household with Poitevins and Savoyards, but he saw himself as a European figure: he desired to regain the French possessions, he was gratified by his sister's marriage to the great Emperor Frederick in 1235, he supported the English candidate for the empire and the Sicilian crown. Earl Simon de Montfort

> . . . was less than king Henry and much less than Richard of Cornwall, a baron of the English shires. He was a gentleman of an expanding world, centred in France . . . Earl Simon, by one of life's little ironies, is remembered as we remember Pym and Fox and Grey. He has become an English worthy. In reality, he is one of the loneliest and most disconcerting figures in our history. He had no roots in England and left none behind him.

The changes in English social history in the thirteenth century, and even in the Government of England, all resulted from a wave of economic change that swept Europe. Coined money was still scarce: but, since the Crusades had restored the trade with the East to Europe, it was becoming ever more plentiful: the food and services economy of the feudal age was changing again into a money economy. Henry III's money consisted, till the recoinage of 1257, entirely of small silver pennies: but there were more of them: enough for English villeins to get

their services commuted for a money rent: enough for taxes on movables assessed in money to begin to replace the old land taxes, assessed on plough acres: enough for the consent of the clergy and barons to a money grant to become of first importance: enough to make the pope desire to have a money revenue comparable to that of kings, and sufficient at that to support the duties of universal ordinary and an international court of appeal. Professor Powicke's analysis of papal taxation in England at the time is of great interest, as showing that the intention was primarily to provide regular money endowment for the papacy, to supplement the income from the landed patrimony, which had long been insufficient. When Honorius III in 1225 asked the English prelates "to convert to the use of the apostolic see a prebend in every cathedral and prebendal church and a fixed income to be assessed according to their wealth from the bishops, monasteries, other houses of regular clergy and collegiate churches," the intention was apparently to provide a common endowment fund rather than to provide members of the Curia with benefices. Papal power, it is true, expressed the need for moral sanctions throughout western Christendom: but papal power cost more to support than the national kings, their prelates and the lay patrons of benefices were willing to give.

It is, above all, the constitutional and administrative historian who will use this book to see how a feudal government of England, with administration largely based on the great landed fiefs that were small states in themselves, passed in Henry's reign into a national Government, headed by the king's household, carried out locally by the sheriffs in the shires, and safeguarded by the royal judges whose eyres traversed the countryside.

But administrative and legal history touches common life at many points. The ordinary reader will read with pleasure how the legal long vacation was due to the exigencies of the harvest: Judge Martin of Pattishall, a terror for hard work as he was, would not "sit in harvest time when poor men were far too busy to be harassed by service on juries": of how the exchequer, still a function of the royal court, came to have a topographical home in Westminster, in the houses by the riverside where the *Dialogus* about its working was composed, houses which Hubert de Burgh bought and which later became Whitehall: of the Old Temple in Holborn and the New Temple by the river, and the new street that ran between them, which helped to "open up" the area

between the city of London and Westminster. In this street King Henry built a home for converted Jews: the new street of the Templars became Chancery Lane, because the "college of the chancery men" took over the *domus conversorum;* the Public Record Office was built later on the site of its church. The Lord Mayor of London was already elected in Guildhall by the aldermen: but at least on one occasion the common citizens clamoured for the election of another, and in the old folk moot of the people in St. Paul's cemetery, the chancellor, Walter de Merton, confirmed their choice.

M. Deanesly.

The Anglicanism of William Laud. By E. C. E. Bourne. 203 pp. and index, 3 illustrations. (S.P.C.K.) 12s. 6d.

"The uncritical impetuosity which a generation ago overwhelmed with contumely, sarcasm, and unhistorical rhetoric the name of William Laud has, it is to be hoped, now spent itself." So wrote W. H. Hutton in 1895, in the preface to his monograph on Laud. But while subsequent writers may have attempted to avoid all "uncritical impetuosity" their final judgements upon the archbishop have continued to differ widely. Friend and foe alike may present him as the "militant ecclesiastic," but for each that description bears a different meaning. To the one it suggests a zealous and indefatigable protagonist for the historic Church of which he was a member; to the other only a proud prelate, bigoted, severe, repressive. To the first it is clear that by his wisdom in defending catholic principles at all cost "Laud saved the English Church" (Mozley). To the second it is no less clear that by his folly in persecuting the Puritans Laud was unwittingly "the founder of the Anglo-Saxon supremacy in the New World" (G. A. Trevelyan). In 1940, therefore, tired of this alternation of conflicting judgements deriving from different theological standpoints, Mr. Trevor-Roper dismissed theological criteria and determined (in the most learned biography of the archbishop so far) to look upon Laud "in that secular spirit from which alone an impartial view can come," and chose to regard him "not as a theologian who must stand or fall by the accuracy of his theological opinions, but as a politician whose material was English society in the early seventeenth century." (*Archbishop Laud,*

pp. 6-7.) The latest contribution to Laudian studies, Mr. Bourne's *The Anglicanism of William Laud*, is not a direct criticism of Mr. Trevor-Roper's book (which is referred to only in an unimportant footnote, p. 170) but its title alone suggests the inadequacy of Mr. Trevor-Roper's approach. That Laud was a leading minister of the Crown as well as an archbishop is true, but if it can be shown that his sense of political responsibility and his theories and methods of statecraft, no less than his ecclesiastical policy, were inspired by certain religious beliefs, then his theology becomes the most significant thing about him; a determined effort to appreciate his *distinctive* theological position is indispensable to any true and consistent interpretation of his life and work. Moreover, if that theological position can be shown to represent the central tradition of historic Christianity it assumes a tremendous importance for our own day. This is the thesis elaborated in Mr. Bourne's essay.

Immersed as he was in public business Laud had no opportunity, even if he had had the ability, to produce a systematic theological treatise. Nevertheless, it is evident from his Visitation articles, sermons, and most of all his *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit*, that " His theory of the position of the English Church was a restatement of the *via media* doctrine of the original Reformers " (p. 77). Catholic truth lay between the extremes of Popery and Puritanism. The Reformation had caused no break in the continuity of the Church in England: it was Protestant in rejecting all the errors and superstitions of Rome, and Catholic in its loyalty to the Scriptures as the rule of faith, the Creeds, the Sacraments, and Episcopal government. Drawing a distinction between the *esse* of the Church and its *bene esse*, it refused to impose as *de fide* (in the Roman fashion) doctrines and practices about which some latitude of opinion had always been allowed; but as a " true " Church it claimed the right to ordain for its own members a certain usage in matters of ritual and ceremonial, being guided not by the Bible alone but (in contrast with the Puritans) by the reasonable criteria of reverence and edification and the experience and wisdom of past ages. As the champion of this " theological mean " Laud used force where necessary, in an attempt to secure a general adherence to its standards. But Mr. Bourne has little difficulty in dispelling the hoary Whig legend that the Puritans were the champions of freedom and Laud the leader of a Caroline gestapo conducting a religious reign of

terror, "determined to compress the religion of the country within the cramping limits of his own convictions" (p. 154). In an age when all parties agreed that there was only room for one religion in the State, Laud was concerned to preserve order and unity by comprehending all within the one historic and reformed Church of England which represented the catholic faith in its purest form.

Order and unity were also his ideals for the State, and the theological basis for his political endeavour becomes clear in Mr. Bourne's remark that "As a statesman, Laud was the last of the Schoolmen" (p. 113). For him, as for the medieval moralist, human society is an organism "consisting of a multitude of different members bound together by nature in a common order for a common purpose. It is healthy precisely in so far as that order is maintained. . . Thus the structure of law and government is not an artificial or conventional contrivance. . . It is an integral part of the life of every man and woman. It is not only the guarantor, but also the necessary condition of their liberty and personality" (p. 8). With this view government is "a matter of applied ethics, attempting to direct and regulate the activities of individuals for the sake of the well being of the whole" (p. 116). Here lies the basis of the unity of Church and State. For not only must the Church declare the ends to be pursued while the State is responsible for all matters of policy and administration, but also "it is only on a foundation of Christian morality that the State can be held together, and it is only with the support of the State that the Church can be defended against attacks from within and without" (p. 12). Here rather than in any blind adherence to the theory of the Divine Right of Kings or merely wilful support of arbitrary government is to be found the key to Laud's political endeavour. Kingship, defended as of divine right seemed, in the circumstances of the age, the most practical means by which that organic conception of society might be safeguarded, therefore Laud was a devoted monarchist. But, as Mr. Bourne acutely remarks, "it may be argued that the choice which England had to make in the seventeenth century was ultimately not between monarchical and Parliamentary government, but between organic and contractual democracy" (p. 195). The contractual theory proved victorious and, in consequence, Laud's fight to maintain social justice and restrain and punish human acquisitiveness, has ever since been described by Whig historians as a ruthless tyranny.

The two conceptions so briefly outlined above form only the bare scaffolding of Mr. Bourne's essay, and to abstract them in this way from all the details of exposition, argument and illustration which rest upon them is not to do justice to his book. But it is this clear perception of the theological unity of Laud's convictions and aspirations, as statesman no less than as archbishop, which gives Mr. Bourne's book its value. It enables him to give a unified and coherent interpretation of Laud's actions, and demonstrates that even at the risk of controversy only theological criteria are adequate for their evaluation. He is very far indeed from falling prey to that "uncritical impetuosity" which, unlike that referred to by Hutton, would idolize Laud; on the contrary, he is quick to recognize his many personal weaknesses and serious limitations as a public figure. But he is to be congratulated for making such a reasonable defence of the beliefs for which Laud stood; for exploding with such spirit so many deep-rooted prejudices; for showing so clearly that catholic social theory no less than a catholic doctrine of the Church forms an essential and authentic part of the complete theology of historic anglicanism; and for pointing, especially in his final chapter, to the relevance of an anglicanism so understood to the needs of to-day. In view of the importance of all this it is unfortunate that, in its present form, the book will recommend itself more to the general reader than to the more specialized student. The language is in places unnecessarily diffuse and, presumably in an attempt to make his point absolutely clear, Mr. Bourne sometimes falls into a manner very near "sermonizing." There is a good deal of repetition which extends even to quotations. There are occasions when the scholarly reader will expect to find references to support some of Mr. Bourne's assertions; and inevitably in so small a work which ranges over so wide and so controversial a field there are not a few generalizations which require qualification. It detracts in no way from what Mr. Bourne has already done if it is remarked that he has chosen a subject and a theme worthy of more extended and technical treatment with full documentation.

T. Wood.

REVELATION AND REASON. By EMIL BRUNNER. (S.C.M. Press.) 25s.

THE importance of this latest work of Dr. Brunner would appear to be twofold. First, it treats specifically those aspects of theology in which the position of the Barthians stands out most clearly—many of us made our first acquaintance with the movement indirectly, through Barth's *Romans* or Brunner's *Mediator*. Secondly, the work exhibits a tendency to advance from the dogmatic statement of principles to an attempt to build up from various angles a reasoned statement of the tenets of the school and their implications; and the most practically valuable sections of the book are those in which the tenets are used to elucidate contemporary problems in apologetics.

Revelation, in the New Testament, means Jesus Christ, God's saving acts, his unique personal address to man. Considered as absolute truth, it "Can be neither proved by the intellect nor verified by experience." In official catholicism—and protestantism, following its lead—this concept has been degraded into "Orthodox doctrine." Similarly, faith, which in the New Testament means knowledge as personal encounter, and trustful obedience to God, comes to mean "Believing doctrines." Upon the meaning of these two terms, as defined by Scripture, Brunner's whole thesis is built.

Revelation carries with it its own epistemology; for whereas rational knowledge can be but impersonal knowledge, revelation —God's personal self-giving in love—breaks into man's isolation, thus opening a new gateway to reality for him.

Although Brunner claims to recognize the legitimate place of dogma in religion, and shows how revelation embraces the lower, as well as its own higher, form of knowledge, it may be questioned whether he accords sufficient importance to the function of doctrinal orthodoxy in belief—that is, if faith is not to lapse into subjectivism, it must have a FORM: I know my friend with something of a personal knowledge, but that knowledge depends also upon an accurate rational knowledge of the person.

The sections in which Brunner deals with the relation of revelation, and the witness of the spirit, to the Bible in the light of modern criticism contain matters of great practical interest. For instance, not only had the idea of revelation been rationalized in the past, but another authority had been slipped in between the believer and Christ. Either, revelation had had to be received

on the authority of an infallible Church, or an infallible Bible: "What a fearful caricature of what the Bible itself means by faith!" A variant of this was the attempt to base faith upon the testimony of the early Church. (We know this in England from the eighteenth century apologists down to Paley.) But, Brunner argues, proof is impossible where it is a matter, not of rational truths, but of personal truth: faith means trusting in Christ who speaks to me through the Bible and the spirit within me—not receiving it second-hand from the Apostles, however much we may depend on them for the transmission of the outward facts. This analysis should help us to understand better the true nature of our preaching and teaching.

Revelation is no *Donum Superadditum;* for it not only gives man a knowledge otherwise absolutely unattainable, it breaks into the darkness of his sinful isolation, which was an "Active-negative" relation to God—a state which nonetheless presupposes an original positive relation to God. This alienation did not take place once in the dim past: man's state of vaguely knowing an original revelation and yet being in a state of revolt is a present reality. Some of the effects of man's aggressive autonomy which presupposes original revelation are worked out in the interesting sections dealing with the non-Christian religions and with the religious philosophies—where even the atheist is shown to be in one sense a rightful protestant against the false view of God presented by inadequate theology. Revelation is not additional knowledge: it transforms that which is evil into saving, eternal life.

Barth cut the Gordian knot of the tangle of faith and reason by denying, as it would appear, not only the possibility of attaining genuine knowledge of God's existence and attributes by the light of reason, but also the legitimacy of using what is given in revelation as though it were data to be used in philosophical deduction or synthesis with other knowledge. It is interesting, therefore, to observe Brunner feeling his way back to a more positive relationship between revelation and reason. On certain points he remains adamant: Biblical and natural theology are "Bitterly and fundamentally opposed"; the God of philosophy stands to the God of revelation in the same distinction as a person pictured in a man's imagination stands to a real THOU encountered in life; and he resists the idea of natural theology as a kind of side-entrance to the knowledge of God besides revelation.

Nevertheless, he maintains, Christian philosophy is a fact, and an influential one; and between the extreme points where theology and the pure sciences have their rightful domain, there lies a whole range of problems where faith and reason overlap.

The idea of a general revelation in creation had of late been denied in the name of the Bible, but Brunner argues from text to text that the Bible itself witnesses to such a revelation. One important departure from the usage of western scholasticism in Brunner, with which readers of the *Divine Imperative* will be familiar, is the definition of human and Divine personality in terms of responsibility rather than of the rational faculty.

Brunner's two conclusions are—first, revelation and reason are not opposed because they are different ways of knowing; but, secondly, there is an opposition, radical and final, however men may gloss it, between the religion of personal, transcendental, revelation, and the religion of immanence, in which Christianity is but one of many relative manifestations of the religious spirit. To the New Testament writers, the distinctive elements of the Gospel are not accidental but essential: there is but one Mediator, crucified for us, and one only name.

J. S. Lawton.

Christian Education. By Spencer Leeson. Longmans. 15s.

The admirable qualities of Canon Leeson's Bampton Lectures for 1944, now published in a book entitled *Christian Education,* will win appreciation and respect not only among Christians who are concerned with education. Others, too, cannot fail to admire the author's fairness and ability to understand points of view different from his own, and will approve his insistence on the necessity for *purpose* in education, believing that, as Canon Leeson says, "every teacher must have some central certainty in which his whole being is anchored, in which he lives and which he conceives it to be the business of his life to express." Before expressing the purpose of Christian education, based on a Christian philosophy of life, and fundamentally on Christian theology, Canon Leeson examines some of the other purposes of education which are proclaimed in the contemporary world of education, and in particular the full development of personality

and the training of a child in the ideal and practice of good citizenship. He has no difficulty in showing the inadequacy of these as final objectives, though he acknowledges that in the hands of sincere teachers and lovers of children some methods of the "free expression" school have yielded valuable results. From so experienced a teacher some further suggestions would have been welcome on how far the methods of teaching popularized by this school of thought can be harnessed in the service of religious education. He deals justly, however, with the ambiguity inherent in so much of the doctrine of free development. Justly, too, he points out that "The obligations of citizenship, considered in and by themselves, bring with them no inner spiritual power to sustain the flagging energies and to keep the will at stretch." Teachers who put in the forefront of their teaching the meaning and the sanctions of popular government and popular freedom are too apt to forget that in the working of political institutions everything depends upon the men and women who work them, and the spirit in which they are worked. The law of the State, therefore, must be subject to the law of God.

The time has come, in the author's opinion, to re-state, and re-assert, what Christians believe to be the true meaning and purpose of education, and he takes us first to Plato, "for he gave us a purpose and he anchored it in eternity." He based his theory of education on the nature of the personality that is to be educated, and he held that "the whole and all-embracing purpose of man's life is to become as much like God as possible." True, there are points at which his teaching needs to be supplemented or modified. Yet on the foundations which Plato laid we, who claim to have received by revelation the truth about the nature and character of God, and his will for each of us, can build upwards and outwards, until we are within sight of a Christian philosophy of education.

Rather strangely, perhaps, Canon Leeson does not proceed immediately from his chapter on Plato to that on the content of Christian education, in which he states quite explicitly what he believes to be the essentials of the faith of the Christian teacher, essentials which enable him to have the same certainty and precision of aim and clear sense of direction as the professors of the political faiths, Communism and the rest. But it is a certainty that comes from God not from man. The Christian teacher is

bound to believe that every human being without exception of race, colour, creed or station is the child of God, especially created by him to be the individual object of his love and redeeming power, each one different from every other; in no sense owing their lives to simple human volition, but committed by God to their human parents as instruments of his will. Further, that they have in them that which is capable of communion with God, that they can approach him in prayer and worship, and that they can be the vehicle of revelation from him, and grow into the likeness of him. Further, that, made as we are in the image of God, we are yet fallen, and that we have offered to us the hope and chance of recovery for ourselves and the world, given by the willing self-sacrifice of the Son, who is himself God, and was in the beginning with God. And, finally, that the Christian life is first to last a life of fellowship in the society of the Church. The teacher's task, then, is nothing less than to assist in the formation of a human personality for God, and the spirit and atmosphere in which all the activities of the school should be conducted must be consistently Christian. However enlightened and efficient may be the teaching of the several subjects, and even the religious instruction, a school must have one vision before it. Christian education means that the unifying and permeating influence in a school must be Christian, that, and no less. Canon Leeson has presented a challenge clear and unflinching.

What prospect is there that Christian education thus defined will generally prevail in this country? "There will never be Christian education in England, till the nation has been told what the faith is in the language of to-day and in relation to their spiritual needs . . . till our countrymen recognize that those who teach it have themselves absorbed the new knowledge, so far as it is possible for anybody to do so who is not himself a specialist in it, and have taken account of it in forming their own interpretation of the universe and man's place and duty in it. . . Then we shall not need statutory requirements of religious worship and instruction, nor shall we have to hunt anxiously for teachers able and willing to do the work; nor will we and they deplore the demise of Christian faith and practice in so many English homes." If the primary responsibility for the education of children is that of their parents, the conversion of England must be a prerequisite of national Christian education. Meanwhile here and there the work of Christian education goes on,

often, unfortunately, in a fragmentary and imperfect way, and impeded by all manner of compromises and misunderstandings. It is dependent sometimes on the support and tradition of voluntary bodies, sometimes on the willing co-operation of public authority, sometimes only on the faith and enthusiasm of individual teachers. Those concerned with this work will find in Canon Leeson's book a masterly survey of why the conditions in which it is now carried on are not more favourable. In what may be called his historical chapters he recalls the medieval integration of knowledge and the unity of scholarship and piety. Then came the breakdown of that synthesis, the widening separation of philosophy and theology, and the increasing secularization of knowledge. There followed the inability of the churches to satisfy the popular demand for education in the early nineteenth century, and the interminable controversies which have accompanied the tentative beginnings and the later extension of State action. His chapter on the "Climate of Opinion and its Effect upon Christian Education" is a fair summary of the causes which have made that climate so adverse to-day. The author touches on the influence of Mill, Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and Haeckel "upon those classes from which in the main the teachers were drawn and especially upon the most active and enterprising spirits among them." The separation between philosophy and science, and the still deeper separation between theology and science, aggravated by the sharp lines that came to be drawn between one specialized branch of enquiry and another, tended more and more to deprive education of unity of purpose. Then came the disillusionment following the first German war, the self-conscious despair of much post-war literature, relativity in physics and morals, the teaching, often hopelessly misunderstood, of the "new psychology," and the cult of the debunking historian whose pleasurable and lucrative job was to undermine great reputations and decry great ideals. All these have militated against the conception of purpose in education, as elsewhere, and the power to fulfil it. Perhaps the author pays insufficient attention to another tendency of which the influence on the uneducated mass of the population may have been as potent as that of science itself—namely the growing impersonalization of human relationships. This has arisen from large-scale business and mass-production, and is inherent in the practice, if not in the theory, of the bureaucrat and the technocrat. Of this impersonaliza-

tion Professor Farmer in his chapter in "Has the Church Failed?" has spoken wisely.

Yet the book is full of quiet confidence. "The schools have an unsurpassed opportunity in co-operation with the churches for assisting in the re-evangelization of the country." That opportunity has been provided by a settlement embodied in the Butler Act, for the sake of which all parties, the Church of England, the Free Churches, the teachers, have to make some sacrifices. The agreed syllabuses point to an increasing unity of purpose. "They are full of theology. Interdenominational they are, but not neutral or colourless. . . Because they are interdenominational, that does not mean that they contain no doctrine. They are packed with it." The youth movement, the secondary technical school and adult education provide new and unlimited fields. Even if we have to acknowledge "that not one of the universities to-day is professedly a Christian, or even a religious, society" there is a growing tendency for them to provide opportunities for all the students, and not only theological students, to learn what are the Christian faith and way of life from those who are qualified to tell them. The provisions of the Act of 1944 with regard to religious instruction and corporate worship, though they have their dangers, are such that there is nothing to prevent the fourfold partnership of home and State, school and Church, from being an active alliance in the service of God, and for the furtherance of his purpose. What remains to be done "is a matter not of rule but of spirit." In discharging the special responsibility of the Church of England for Christian education in this country Canon Leeson advocates a policy of co-operation with other Churches and other bodies over the whole field of education consistently with full allegiance to its own faith and order. He advocates, too, acceptance of the compromise on the dual system contained in the Act, and the endeavour to get from it the best possible results. He maintains, however, the essential justice of the denominational principle—that is, that where there is a sufficient number of parents who desire that their children should be educated in a particular interpretation of the Christian faith, the State should build, as well as maintain, schools for them at the public expense. Indeed he hopes that in coming years churchpeople will try to convince public opinion that without this principle there can be no real religious freedom. It is not quite easy to see how this is to be done without reviving

past controversy, and it may be that peace has been bought at too high a price. Certainly it is a point on which the organized teachers are very sensitive, and Canon Leeson understates rather than overstates the position when he says that their confidence is not yet wholly won. Possibly one help to winning this confidence would be to admit that a logical and essentially democratic extension of the principle is the duty of the State to build and maintain schools for any sufficient number of parents who desire a wholly secular education for their children. Nor need Christians shrink from that admission, if they believe that in conditions of toleration and free discussion the truth, as they see it, must prevail.

This is a booking of learning, wisdom and judgement, bearing on every page evidence of its author's faith. For many years Christian teachers will turn to it to find that which will encourage and fortify them in the work they have undertaken.

J. H. Simpson.

Sweet Tones Remembered. By E. M. Venables. Blackwell. 4s. 6d.

"*Dominius illuminatio mea.* To this pure truth, both precept and ideal, Magdalen Chapel has throughout its history striven to bear witness—to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness—to do honour to His Name. None can set measure to the range of that witness, which has wrought its influence in the hearts of all who. generation after generation, have felt within Magdalen Chapel a lively, though perchance fleeting, sense of God's presence and have caught through the inspiration of music, prayer, and worship some vision of the things that are eternal. Their sound is gone out into all the world.

"To have been able to take part, however ephemeral and slight, in maintaining this witness and tradition I have always felt to be a privilege that can never be forgotten, a cherished experience whose joy will never wane, an inward revelation that was, perhaps, 'the fountain-light of all our day, the master-light of all our seeing'."

An unusual and not easily recognizable picture this, of education, for a modern planner. To-morrow the State will

segregate its boys into grammar schools, technical schools and modern schools. They will from schools of 1,000 boys, to use the modern phraseology, roll off the lines of production. No doubt the spirit that informs this experiment will be honest and vigorous. What would the planner say to another education, the education that Mr. Venables describes—not modern, not concerned with technicians? What value would he see in it? Would he see the worth of this?—

> "To some choristers—the minority, I think—their singing years meant little that was moving, permanent, significant; they took their part, sang the services, admired as far as they were capable of perceiving the serene loveliness of Magdalen, and, went their way. But to many these early influences have afforded an unforgettable joy and inspiration, not unmixed, rightly enough, with the astringent rigours of school life, and a source of times of almost unshadowed happiness and cherished recollection. Time does not efface the pictured memories of the past, and even in my boyhood I began to learn what subsequent years have only served to intensify: to love and venerate the perfect setting of the College, its cloistered peace, its sublime beauty, and to feel in countless and indefinable ways its pervasive, peculiar, and gracious charm. Nor is it difficult, even now, after the long years, to see in fancy the Tower lit with the afternoon sunshine and to hear the bells calling us, as we walk in double file over the bridge, to Evensong; to see and name the boys around me, and recall their various ways; to remember the music of service and anthem; to look again, as it were, upon the old familiar faces and to share with them the exhilaration of music that gave wings to the spirit of worship. It can be a great thing for a boy to come into close personal contact with the innumerable influences, aesthetic, spiritual, religious, historic, that characterize a Foundation such as Magdalen, and emanate from its genius, and I can never be grateful enough for that chance occurrence that made it possible for me to experience them."

Not that Mr. Venables sets out to prove the worth of it. His book is one of autobiography and story. In it is the love, the character, and the great humanity that he found in his boyhood at Magdalen, the peculiar possession that became his for

a life-time, a possession that such a school and no other could give.

Too little is known of the Choir schools. There are over against our great cathedrals some twenty schools, and another eight or ten form a part of the great college foundations. Only four or five are of day boys alone. Of the others some fourteen are, from their size of fifty boys or more, real schools giving or able to give their boys such an education as their governors would wish. Their first reason for existence is the singing of our sacred music, in buildings that so far as we can guess will never be equalled again for beauty and humanity.

Not all are equally large. Not all are equally successful. There may be a lack of interest by the governing bodies, not in the singing but in the education. No doubt expense may be a reason, with an inability to realize the opportunities there are, with expansion and energy, of making a bigger school self-supporting and giving the boys the lessons and games that only a bigger school can provide. After all, when these cathedrals were built education was their province and they almost alone understood it. Nor is the contribution onesided. For each school is a link with life between cathedral and the world without, inferior perhaps to that of their services, but yet a vivid and essential one.

If cathedrals realized that schools of twenty are a danger to the boys in them it might be a measure to them of their opportunity. It is true that schools of small size seem easier to provide without charges to parents. But there are many parents willing to pay if the sum be not too great, and many parents who would prefer their boys to go even as ordinary boarders to a school with the life and traditions that Mr. Venables so well describes. When such schools contain seventy or eighty boys, partly singers, partly ordinary boarders and partly day boys, there is a human combination that cannot be surpassed; the education that is given can be from a liberal point of view supreme. How little this is realized. How slow even the public schools have been to see the worth to them of finished choristers from choir schools of size and character. Neither work nor games need suffer. Only a few years sufficed the Pilgrims School, Winchester, after it had been set upon its present basis, for its pupils to figure upon the scholarship lists of Winchester College itself, than which no higher standard need be sought.

It is true that the future of these schools under the Education Act is uncertain. Singers are not equal to their task before their twelfth birthday, and if the State were blind to the facts they might drive the boys out at thirteen. But the Church is alive and its supporters vigorous and there is no need to be pessimistic if that support is mobilized and directed in a cause so liberal, so clear and so vital.

C. M. Fiddian.

The British Museum Library. By Arundell Esdaile. (Allen and Unwin.) 15s.

"The British Museum," says Sir Frederick Kenyon in his Introduction, "is, next to the British Navy, the national institution which is held in most universal respect abroad. . . Yet no adequate history of it exists." Dr. Esdaile has admirably met a part of this deficiency, confining himself most properly to the Library, with which he was associated. To be on the staff of a Museum is not merely a livelihood but a life: so absorbing and pleasant a life that it was for years regarded by the Treasury as a reason and even an excuse for exiguous salaries. Possibly others may follow Dr. Esdaile's excellent example and devote their retirement to other departments of the Museum in which they have worked.

The British Museum resembles the British Constitution in its gradual, not to say haphazard, origin and growth. There was no single munificent founder such as Duke Humphrey or Bodley or some of the popes and princes to whom the great libraries on the Continent owe their existence. The story begins with Sir Robert Cotton, the pupil of Selden, who formed a collection which he treated as a public institutia, and which, nearly 70 years after his death, was in 1700 secured to trustees under an Act of Parliament. The next step was the direction of Sir Hans Sloane in a codicil of 1749 that his collection of books and of "whatever could be secured that was rare and curious" should be offered to the nation for £20,000. Then the Harleian MSS. were similarly offered for £10,000. Arthur Edwards had left not only his books to be added to the Cotton Library but also the reversion of £7,000 to provide a house. So Parliament, by the Act of 1753, gave to these various collections the benefit of a constitution with trustees who were to provide a "General Repository" wherein they were

to be preserved "for publick use to all posterity," but no money. That the Trustees, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor at their head, were to provide by a public lottery. The conduct of this was not without scandal, but enough money was raised to buy the offered collections, to acquire Montagu House and provide more than the purchase-price for repairs, and to set aside £30,000 for endowment. But George II was more generous than his Treasury, and soon afterwards transferred the Royal Library, a collection dating from Edward IV, and including the *Codex Alexandrinus*. George III set to work to form another royal library, which George IV, following the example of his great-grandfather, placed at the disposal of Parliament and which was transferred to the Museum—65,000 books and 19,000 pamphlets. The philosopher may thus speculate whether we owe more to sovereigns who collected books or to sovereigns who got rid of them.

The arrangements under the Act were as casual as the cradle-history of the Museum. The interest on £30,000 could not provide upkeep on a lavish scale. The Principal Librarian, a Doctor of Medicine, whose title shows the minor position of the "Curiosities," received in all £200 a year, but he had a residence in the building, and his assistants, also Doctors of Medicine or clergymen with benefices or curacies, had quarters also. But their weekly days of duty were but two and their main function seems to have been that of guiding visitors. It was suggested, rather tentatively, by the Standing Committee, that the time not so occupied might very usefully be employed "in better ranging the several collections" and preparing catalogues; but a little later their hours of attendance were reduced to two, on two and three days in alternate weeks, with extra pay for additional work. Later, work in the extra days was of obligation, but it was not until 1837 that a full-time week was instituted.

In the characteristic English manner, it was not until the institution had justified itself on a voluntary basis that Parliament gave regular financial support. Money had been voted from time to time, but annual grants to the Library date from 1834; the transfer of George III's library forced the pace, and in 1823 £40,000 was voted for the beginning of Smirke's great building.

Such in outline is the curious and entertaining story told by Dr. Esdaile in the earlier part of his book. The later history

becomes less romantic, but is still interesting; the Select Committee of 1833 and the Royal Commission of 1847 with its colossal report, mainly concerned with the right method of making a catalogue; the enforcement by Panizzi, perhaps the most spectacular of Principal Librarians, of the Copyright Act; all this is told adequately for the general reader. There follow more detailed chapters on the growth of the several sections of the library and the changes in and development of the staff, and there are some useful appendices. The notes are full of information; but the careful reader who looks at notes is sacrificed to the less deserving person who does not, and they are placed at the end; as their pages are not headed with the chapter to which they relate reference to them is unusually tiresome.

In one instance Dr. Esdaile has omitted to verify his reference, and attributes the *Rejected Addresses* to the reopening not of Drury Lane but of Covent Garden.

L. J. Morison.

PERIODICALS

The Journal of Religion (Vol. XXVII. No. 3. July, 1947. University of Chicago Press). J. Wach : The Place of the History of Religions in the Study of Theology. P. Ramsey : A Theory of Virtue according to the Principles of the Reformation. M. S. Enslin : Puritan of Carthage [Tertullian]. O. R. Sellers : Smith, *Isaiah xl-lv.* R. M. Grant : Minear, *Eyes of Faith.* M. M. Parvis : Wand, *The N.T. Letters*; Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past.* F. W. Beare : Case, *The Origins of Christian Supernaturalism.* R. Marcus : Edsman, *The Body and Eternal Life.* R. Hazelton : Bixler, *Conversations with an Unrepentant Liberal.* J. Wach : Von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*; Guénon, *Man and his Becoming according to the Vedanta.* H. R. Willoughby : Volbach, *Early Christian Mosaics.*

Theological Studies (Vol. VIII. No. 2. June, 1947. Woodstock, Md.). J. L. McKenzie, S.J. : The Dynastic Oracle, II Samuel 7. H. de la Costa, S.J. : The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines. J. P. Haran, S.J. : *Minister Christi Sacerdos.* A. C. Wand, S.J. : Notes on Christian Archaeology. C. Vollert, S.J. : De Lubac, *Surnaturel* (critical). J. E. Coleran, S.J. : Rowley, *The Rediscovery of the O.T.* M. P. Stapleton : Knox, *Epistles and Gospels . . . newly translated.* G. C. King, S.J. : Heard, *The Eternal Gospel.* J. L. McKenzie, S.J. : Bonsirven, *Les Enseignements de Jésus-Christ.* E. J. Hodous, S.J. : Manson, *Jesus the Messiah* ("salvages the actual Christ from the welter of form-criticism"). L. J. McGinley, S.J. : Riddle and Hutson, *N.T. Life and Literature.* J. T. Curran, S.J. : Sanders, *L'Hellénisme de S. Clément de Rome et le Paulinisme.* J. H. Casey, S.J. : Switalski, *Neoplatonism and the Ethics of St. Augustine.* F. O. Corcoran, S.J. : De Ghellinck, *Patristique et Moyen Age.* A. C. Cotter, S.J. : De Ghellinck, *L'Essor de la Littérature Latine au XII^e Siècle.* J. J. Healy, S.J. : Brunner, *Revelation and Reason* (5pp. critical). E. J. Weisenberg, S.J. : D'Eypernon, *Le Mystère Primordial.* J. W. Moran, S.J. : Scheeben, *Mariology.* W. A. Huesman, S.J. : Balfour and Irvine, *St. Catherine of Genoa's Treatise on Purgatory and The Dialogue.* E. T. F. X. Lawlor, S.J. : Adams Brown, *Towards a United Church.* C. H. Metzger : Jurgi, *The Great Religions of the Modern World.* C. L. Bernhardt, S.J. : Walsh, *Dante Alighieri, Citizen of Christendom* (laudatory).

Biblica (Vol. XXVIII. Fasc. 3. 1947. Rome : Piazza Pilotta, 35). G. Card. Mercati : *Il Problema della Colonna II dell' Esaplo, II.* T. Ayuso : *Nuevo Estudio sobre el 'Comma Ioanneum,'* II. L. Bieler : *Der Bibeltext des hl.* Patrick, II. C. Lo Giudice : *La Fede degli Apostoli nel IV Vangelo II.* J. M. Vosté : *Projet d'une Edition critico-ecclésiastique de la Pesitta sous Léon XIII.* R. Köbert : *Philologische Bemerkungen zu* Ps. 43 (42), 4 *und* 51 (50), 20. J. M. Schweigl : *Die erste Kath. Ausgabe der Apg., Apostelbriefe und Offenb. in russischer Sprache.* W. F. Albright : Koeppel, *Teleilat Ghassul, II.*

Bibliotheca Sacra (Vol. CIV. No. 414. April-June, 1947. Texas : Dallas Theological Seminary). L. S. Chafer : Soteriology, III. J. F. Walvoord : The Preincarnate Son of God, II. C. L. Feinberg : The Relation of Archaeology to Biblical Criticism. E. F. Harrison : Jesus and Lazarus.

M. B. Stearns : Protestant Theology since 1700, II. C. T. Fritsch : Principles of Biblical Typology. H. J. Ockenga : The Great Revival. G. C. Luck : Calvin and Servetus. C. L. Feinberg : Rowley, *The Re-discovery of the O.T.* (critical); Tasker, *The O.T. in the N.T.*; Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret*; Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and O.T. Parallels.* E. F. Harrison : Ramsey, *The Resurrection of Christ* (laudatory).

The Congregational Quarterly (Vol. XXV. No. 3. July, 1947. London, E.C.4 : Memorial Hall). E. L. Allen : Natural Theology in Karl Barth. M. Gwyther : Religious Poetry in the XVIIth Century. J. T. Hardyman : Congregationalism and Creeds. A. J. B. Higgins : The Rise of Christianity. W. A. Whitehouse : The Wrath and the Mercy of God. C. Bonifazi : The Ecumenical Institute. G. R. Barrell : Go Ye and Teach. K. L. Parry : Music and Worship. L. J. Tizard : The Art of Interviewing. S. Cave : Hogg, *The Christian Message to the Hindu* (laudatory). R. S. Franks : Whittaker, *Space and Spirit*; Cleobury, *God, Man and the Absolute.*

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XXXVIII. No. 1. July, 1947. Philapelphia, Pa : Dropsie College). S. Zeitlin : The Assumption of Moses and the Revolt of Bar Kokba. H. A. Wolfson : Arabic and Hebrew Terms for Matter and Element with especial Reference to Saadia. L. J. Liebreich : Midrash Lekah Tob's Dependence upon Targum to the Song of Songs 8, 11-12. H. Klein : Gemara and Sebara. T. Ashkenazi : Aketubah of the Jews of Hadhramawt. J. Starr : Note on the Crisis of the Early Seventh Century. C. E. S. Krauss : Brinker, *The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel.* M. J. Cohen : Jurji, *The Great Religions of the Modern World.* R. Wischnitzer : Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art.* H. A. Wolfson : On the Septuagint Use of *To Hagion* for the Temple. S. Zeitlin : The Warning Inscription of the Temple. Cohen *The Zionist Movement.*

The Expository Times (Vol. LVIII. Nos. 10-11. July-August, 1947. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark). V. Taylor : The Doctrine of the Atonement. W. M. F. Scott : Nehemiah-Ezra ? H. H. Rowley : Recent Foreign Theology. H. Garner : Exodus, Prophet and W. Africa. A. S. Perry : I Cor. xiii, 12. W. D. McHardy : A Papyrus Fragment of the *Acta Pauli.* Snaith, *Distinctive Ideas of the O.T.* N. MacNicol : Hogg, *The Christian Message to the Hindu* (laudatory). W. Fulton : Wheeler Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation* ("a liberal education in the O.T."). F. J. Rae : Miller, *Have we failed in Nigeria ?* August. T. W. Manson : N.T. Ethics. C. H. Dodd : Matthew and Paul. H. H. Rowley : The Prophets and Sacrifice. J. R. Crockford : St. Luke ix, 57-62. Lewis, *Miracles.* Lawton, *Conflict in Christology.* A. J. Gossip : Coomer, *English Dissent under the Early Hanoverians.* F. J. Rae : De Burgh, *The Legacy of the Ancient World.* C. W. Budden : Briggs, *Puritan Architecture and its Future.*

The English Historical Review (Vol. LXII. No. 243. April, 1947. Longmans). F. L. Carsten : The Origins of the Junkers. L. S. Sutherland : The East India Company and the Peace of Paris. T. H. McGuffie : The Walcheren Expedition and the Walcheren Fever. R. Hill : Two Northamptonshire Chantries [at Titchmarsh and Easton-on-the-Hill]. H. Suggett : A Letter describing Richard II's Reconciliation with the City of London, 1392. E. L. C. Mullins : Note on an Unsigned Letter to John Abell at Strasbourg. E. Hughes : Lord North's Correspondence, 1766-83. D. Talbot Rice : *England and the Mediterranean Tradition.* M. D. Knowles : Mahn, *L'Ordre cistercien,* 1098-1265. Sir F. M. Powicke : *The Complete Peerage, X.* J. Butt : Johnson and Gibson, *Print and Privilege at Oxford to* 1700. C. T. Atkinson : Richmond, *Statesmen and Sea Power.* A. Goodwin : Morazé, *La France Bourgeoise XVIIIe-XXe Siécles.* J. M. Thompson :

Walter, *Robespierre.* Wilson, *The Stella Maris of John of Garland.* Barlow, *Durham Annals and Documents of the XIIIth Century.* Arnould, "*Le Manuel des Péchés.*" Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law as represented by Lucas de Penna.* Gwynn, *The Medieval Province of Armagh,* 1470-1545. Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation.* C. Je[nkins] : Kuttner, *Decreta Septem Priorum Sessionum Concilii Tridentini.* Lynam, *Richard Hakluyt and his Successors.* Styles, *Sir Simon Archer.* Andrews, *Ionathan Dickinson's Journal.* Reade, *Johnson's Early Life.*

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library at Manchester (Vol. XXX. No. 2. May, 1947. Manchester University Press). F. Taylor : (1) The Charter Room in the John Rylands Library ; (2) Ecclesiastical, Monastic, and Local Seals (12th-17th cent.) from the Hatton Wood MSS. in the J. R. Library. W. H. G. Armytage : Patric Cumin, 1823-90. E. F. Chaney : Francois Villon, A Note on his MSS. J. Hammer : Geoffrey of Monmouth's Use of the Bible in The *Historia Regum Britanniae.* T. W. Manson : The Life of Jesus, A Survey of the Available Material. V. The Fourth Gospel. P. Renucci : *Deux Etapes de l'Utopisme humaniste. Le Chateau du Décaméron et l'Abbaye de Thélème.* T. B. L. Webster : Menander. Plays of Social Criticism.

The Quarterly Review (No. 573. July, 1947. John Murray). Sir J. Pollock, Bt. : France's New Deal. Sir W. Barton : Dark Days in India. C. Mullins : Conciliation in Divorce Cases. Sir R. Maconachie : "The Gentleman said . . ." A. M. Hyamson : Palestine. Brigadier A. J. Knott : The Modern Sudan. R. F. Rattray : Basic Realities of the Economic Crisis. B. E. C. Dugdale : A. J. B. Some Episodes in Biography. D. Gordon: English Deer. N. D. Coleman : Some Observations upon the Translation of the N.T. into English. E. Atiyah : Prospects of the Arab Renascence. Edlin, *Forestry and Woodland Life.* Kent, *The Lost Treasures of London.* Hughes, *The Nascent Mind of Shelley.* Taylor, *The Church of God.* Chadwick, *The Inner Life.* Marchant, *Anthology of God* ("a very charming bedside book"). White, *Nationalisation. Chaos or Cure* ("illuminating").

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Vol. XLII. Nos. 1-2. 1947. Louvain : Bibliothèque de l'Université). R. Draguet : *L'Histoire Lausiaque, II.* F. Toussaint : *Election et Sortie de Charge du Doyen de Chrétienté dans les anciens Diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai.* G. Mollat : *Les Graces expectatives du XIIe au XIVe Siècle.* J. M. de Smet : *L'Exégète.* Lambert, *Ecolatre d'Utrecht.* L. Dieu : Marco Polo. *Quel est le Texte authentique de sa Relation ?* R. Ricard : *L'Eveché de Safi* (1497?-1542). W. Goossens : Bonsirven, *Les Enseignements de Jésus-Christ.* J. Dupont : Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism. I Pet. iii,* 19. L. Cerfaux : Verbeke, *L'Evolution de la Doctrine du Pneuma, du Stoicisme à S. Augustin.* V. Morel : Hummel, *The Concept of Martyrdom according to St. Cyprian* ; Duncan, *Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates.* G. Bardy : Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins.* R. Draguet : Garitte, *Documents pour l'Etude du Livre d'Agathange* (4 pp.); Graf, *Geschichte der christl. arabischen Literatur, I.* G. Garitte : *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 3. R. Maere : Rey, *L'Art roman et ses Origines.* F. C. Bouuaert : De Moreau, *Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique, III* (1122-1378). A. Pelzer : Arbesmann et Hümpfner, *Iordani de Saxonia Liber Vitasfratrum.* A. Joubert : De Lagarde, *La Naissance de l'esprit laique au Déclin du Moyen Age, V.* G. Frénaud : Mourin, *Six Sermons inédits de Jean Gerson.* J. Higgens : Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (favourable). A. Draguet : Kuttner, *Decreta Septem priorum Sessionum Concilii Tridentini.* A. van Hove : De Lubac, *Surnaturel.* L. Robert : Latreille, *L'Eglise catholique et la Révolution*

francaise, I. 1775-99. Tate, *The Parish Chest.* Cornish, *The Churchyard Yew and Immortality.* Adamson, *The Illiterate Anglo-Saxon.* Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law.* Peers, *St. John of the Cross.*

Irénikon (Tome XX. No. 2. 1947. Prieuré, Chevetonge, Belgique). P. Michalon : *L'Entendu de l'Eglise.* Archimandrite C. Kern : *Les Eléments de la Théologie de Grégoire Palamas, II.* G. Rosendal : *Une Conférence "Confessionelle"* (Osby en Suède, *aout* 1946). *Chronique religieuse.* Hayen, *L'Intentionnel dans la Philosophie de St. Thomas.* Boulgakov, *La Sagesse Divine et la Théanthropie.* Bolshakoff, *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Church.* Knox, *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity.* Dénissoff, *Maxime le Grec et L'Occident.* Notes and Documents.

Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift (Vol. XXXVII. No. 2. May-July, 1947. Berne : Stämpfli et Cie.). S. Zankow : *Aktuelle Probleme u. Aufgabe der orthodoxen Theologie u. Kirche.* K. Zeimet : *Die altkatholische Kirche im Dritten Reich.* B. Spuler : *Die orthodoxen Kirchen.* A. Küry : *Kirchliche Chronik.*

BOOKS RECEIVED

Brunner, Emil.—*Revelation and Reason,* 440 pp. (S.C.M. Press). 25*s.*

Williams, A. T. P.—*The Anglican Tradition in the Life of England,* 128 pp. (S.C.M. Press). 6*s.*

Casey, Robert Pierce.—*The "De Incarnatione" of Athanasius:* Part 2 : The Short Recension, 86 pp. (Christophers). 15*s.*

Mortimer, R. C.—*The Elements of Moral Theology,* 237 pp. (A. & C. Black). 10*s.* 6*d.*

Brandreth, Henry R. T.—*Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church,* 79 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 6*s.* 6*d.*

Phillips, C. S. and Others.—*Walter Howard Frere,* 216 pp. (Faber and Faber). 16*s.*

Wilson, H. A.—*More Haggerston Sermons,* 130 pp. (Mowbrays). 4*s.* 6*d.*

Hebert, A. G.—*The Authority of the Old Testament,* 326 pp. (Faber and Faber). 15*s.*

Watson, Philip S.—*Let God be God,* 203 pp. (Epworth Press). 10*s.* 6*d.*

Barrett, C. K.—*The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition,* 176 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 15*s.*

Beza, Marcu.—*Heritage of Byzantium,* 108 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 8*s.* 6*d.*

Rosenstock-Huessy, Eugen.—*The Christian Future or the Modern Mind Outrun,* 248 pp. (Student Christian Movement Press). 8*s.* 6*d.*

Hardman, Oscar.—*A Prayer-Book for* 1949. Three Parts. (To be obtained from the Rev. Dr. O. Hardman, St. Augustine, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.) 6*s.* each part.

Bastable, Patrick K.—*Desire for God,* 177 pp. (Burns Oates and Washbourne). 12*s.* 6*d.*

Martin, John.—*From Failure to Fulfilment,* 168 pp. (Allen and Unwin). 7*s.* 6*d.*

THOMPSON, A. HAMILTON (Ed. by).—*Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln*, 1517-1531, Vol. III, 289 pp. (Lincoln Record Society).

The Shorter Prayer-Book (According to the Use of the Church of England), 314 pp. (Cambridge University Press). 3*s.* 6*d.*

Treasures from the Bible (Selected by the Chaplains and Pastors of America), 196 pp. (Allen and Unwin). 7*s.* 6*d.*

SCOTT, J. W. ROBERTSON.—*England's Green and Pleasant Land*, 183 pp. (Penguin Books). 1*s.*

LACHMANN, KURT.—*The Renaissance of the Individual*, 143 pp. (C. Skilton Ltd.). 7*s.* 6*d.*

CADOUX, C. J.—*Philip of Spain and the Netherlands*, 251 pp. (Lutterworth Press). 18*s.*

BRITTAIN, F.—*Arthur Quiller-Couch: A Biographical Study of Q*, 174 pp. (Cambridge University Press). 15*s.*

A Directory of Ceremonial, Part I, 98 pp. (For the Alcuin Club, Mowbray). 5*s.*

MENZIES, LUCY.—*Father Wainright*, 124 pp. (Longmans). 6*s.* 6*d.*

Jean: A Story of Vocation, 167 pp. (Mowbray). 5*s.*

ARAND, LOUIS A. (Trs. by).—*St. Augustine: Faith, Hope and Charity*, 165 pp. (The Newman Book Shop, Maryland). $2.50.

SCHOLEM, GERSHOM G.—*Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 454 pp. (Schocken Books Inc., New York). $5.50.

BEA, AUGUSTIN.—*Le Nouveau Psautier Latin*, 210 pp. (Desclée de Brouwer, Paris). 54 *francs.*

EHRENBERG, HANS.—*Luthertum Okumenisch und deutsch*, 84 pp. (C. Bertelsmann Gutersloh).

Ma Joie Terrestre ou donc Es-tu ? 380 pp. (Les Etudes Carmélitaines Desclée de Brouwer, Bruges). 120 *francs.*

#190

DIXIT CRANMER ET NON TIMUIT—I

A Supplement to Mr. Timms

By GREGORY DIX

It is always with sympathy—though tinged sometimes with melancholy apprehensions—that one comes upon representatives of the modern High Church party engaged in the first-hand study of our English Reformers and the genesis of our English Prayer-book. To be frank, a good deal of such study by such people will be needed if we are to get rid of a mischievous legend which did much to stultify the discussion of Prayer-book revision a generation ago—viz., that Archbishop Cranmer was a sort of premature Tractarian whose Books of Common Prayer were intended to express—or at the very least to include—anything like the doctrine so dear to the Tractarians of an "objective Real Presence" in or under the consecrated bread and wine of the Eucharist. It may be true, as Darwell Stone once wrote, that there was "something providential in the notion of the Tractarians that they had support for their position in a post-Reformation tradition, because without this belief they very likely would not have had the heart to go on."[1] But even in 1914 that wise scholar felt constrained to add, "We have now to face the facts", which were other than the Tractarians had imagined. Those facts were not faced then, and they have generally been concealed since, with results in Anglican life that we all know, even if we do not care to trace them to their causes. If they are not treated more seriously and more realistically before Prayer-book revision again becomes a practical question, then the result, so far as the eucharistic rite is concerned, is likely to be only a second botch which Churchmen at large will quietly but decisively decline to use. And I

[1] Letter to Lord Halifax. January 27, 1914, *ap.* F. L. Cross, *Darwell Stone.* 1943. p. 245.

for one do not care to contemplate the practical consequences to the life of the English Church of another frustration of that kind.

These among other considerations weighed with me when I reluctantly decided to include in a book called *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1945) some conclusions on Archbishop Cranmer and his English Prayer-books. These were that Cranmer in his eucharistic doctrine was a devout and theologically-founded Zwinglian, and that his Prayer-books were exactly framed to express his convictions. The publication of these ideas was received, as I regretfully foresaw that it would be, with distress by many of those devout souls whom one would least desire to trouble. Among High Churchmen (in the stiffer sense of the term) they were denounced as " tendencious ", " irresponsible " and even " inexcusable ". If I am any judge, this part of the book has caused uneasiness among the clergy, but by and large its conclusions have not been fully accepted, and the purpose of publishing them was not understood. Yet except for the cursory dissent of some reviewers, they received no historical criticism which could reasonably claim the notice of an explanation.

It was therefore with some interest that I learned that the Rev. G. B. Timms had come forward under the appropriate banner of the Alcuin Club with a reasoned criticism, in a paper which was subsequently printed in this Quarterly.[2] To my great satisfaction, I found that Mr. Timms, starting with an ecclesiastical standpoint and purpose so different from my own, had reached conclusions on some of the essential questions identical with mine. It is true that at times he seems more anxious to emphasize our differences than to record agreements. But for my part I am happy to find how extensively we agree; and I am sure that, notwithstanding some imperfec-

[2] *Dixit Cranmer.* A paper read before the annual meeting of the Alcuin Club, May 1946, printed *C.Q.R.* cxiii, p. 217 *sqq.*, and cxiv, p. 33 *sqq.*, and republished (with the more combatant sub-title " A reply to Dom Gregory ") as an *Alcuin Club Paper* (1947), Mowbray, for the Alcuin Club., price 1s. 6d.

tions, the circulation of his pamphlet cannot fail to do much good among the followers of the Alcuin Club, both in helping them to overcome their prejudices and positively in preparing them to recognize the truth about the Prayer-book. I propose, therefore, to take this opportunity of approaching these topics again. By using Mr. Timms's paper as a peg rather than a target, and supplementing his evidence and conclusions as occasion serves, I hope it may be possible to carry the historical question a step forward.

We agree—I use Mr. Timms's words so far as possible—that

(i) "Not only does he (Cranmer) deny transubstantiation; he denied any real objective presence in the sacred elements *per se* at all".

(ii) Cranmer "rigidly refuses, even where the context might lead us to expect it, to make (any) 'instrumental' identification of the elements with the body and blood . . . they are, however, a divine 'seal' or 'guarantee', promises of effectual signification 'that Christ does feed us with his body and blood'[3] [*at the moment we receive them*: they are temporally but not ontologically identified] . . . . But he (Cranmer) will not say that Christ feeds us *through* the elements". (Italics Mr. Timms's.)

(iii) For Cranmer, the Eucharistic sacrifice consists exclusively "of praise and thanksgiving, together with an offering of ourselves"—as contrasted with any "pleading" of the Sacrifice of Christ, or any offering of his body and blood to the Father, or any sort of oblation of the elements, consecrated or unconsecrated, in any sense whatever.

(iv) Canmer's answer to the question "Is the spiritual gift which is received in holy communion essentially different from that which is received in spiritual communion?" — was "obviously" a decided negative.

[3] I can agree to these clauses only "E. & O.E." Cranmer states the matter quite differently from Mr. Timms, as will be obvious from what is said below.

It will be observed that except for the clauses about which I have made some demur in (ii), the whole statement is negative; and also that if there is not an actual contradiction between these clauses and (iv), at all events there is some difficulty in adjusting them, on any basis which involves an *objective* spiritual gift of any kind appropriated in, or by the reception of, the Sacrament (such as *e.g.* was taught in his later years by Calvin). Nevertheless Mr. Timms sets out to show that Cranmer was not (as I termed him) a Zwinglian, but what he calls a " dynamic-receptionist ", and he couples him explicitly with Bucer and Calvin as teaching this doctrine.

Calvin, I suggest, is better left out of the picture altogether. That " instrumental " relation of the elements to the body and blood of Christ which Cranmer " refuses " was the very pivot of Calvin's fully-developed teaching, and the word *instrumentum* is a usual term with him. It is true, too, that Calvin in the forties of the sixteenth century was still feeling his way to the " Calvinist " eucharistic doctrine, which assumed completeness only with the third edition of the *Institutes* in 1559. At the critical period of the English Reformation it is doubtful how far Calvin ought to be described as a " Receptionist ". Early in 1549, by the *Consensus Tigurinus*, he had reached an agreement with the Zwinglians, including their extreme left wing under Megander, in which he had gone very far indeed to meet their negative views. It is significant that he was never again willing to use the language which he used at this time. There is nothing in the evidence, however, to suggest that Cranmer himself or the Edwardian Reformers generally, then or earlier, paid any special attention to Calvin's views. The period of his influence on the English Reformers came later, after the accession of Elizabeth. In King Edward's time the English Protestants looked rather to Bullinger and Zürich. A typical instance of these variations is to be found in John Jewel. After serving as notary to Cranmer and Ridley in their Oxford disputations he fled abroad early in 1555. But at Frankfort he quarrelled with Knox and the Calvinistic party, and fled on to Zürich where Bullinger received him. It is not surprising to

find him in the closest epistolary and doctrinal connexion with Zürich[4] during the first three or four years of Elizabeth's reign. Later the connexion cools, and he becomes one of the theological leaders of a reaction towards a Calvinist Receptionism.

Bucer, however, is a different matter. In 1548 he had failed (for the second time) to agree about the Eucharist with even the more moderate Zwinglians, and had left Zürich in something of a huff. Hooper, who was then living at Zürich, imbibing truth from the source, wrote after him a fussy letter intended to be consoling, and begged him not to take his dismissal too much to heart: "Away with those who would sow dissension between you and these men. I promise you, they very frequently make mention of you in friendly and honourable terms. And though they may dissent from your opinion in the matter of the eucharist, as I do myself, yet they do not make any breach in Christian love, much less regard you with hostility".[5] With his usual happy tact, Hooper goes on to treat poor Bucer as a Lutheran, offering to "prove easily to the satisfaction of every one" that he is all wrong, and ending with a commendation of the charity of the Zwinglians who were grieved at Luther's death, "not as if they had lost an adversary and detractor". But twenty years of intermittent colloquies and memoranda between Luther and Bucer had already failed to produce any effective agreement on the Eucharist, as clearly as they had failed to reconcile the Zwinglians with either of them. Bucer had in fact made an attempt to elaborate a mediating doctrine between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism somewhat along the lines finally worked out by Calvin; but then, as later, there could be no genuine reconciliation of two such contradictory positions, and both parties had ended by

[4] *Zürich Letters* (1st Series), ed. Robinson, Parker Soc., 1842, i-lxxvii, *passim*. See e.g. p. 21: "We have exhibited to the Queen all our articles of religion and doctrine, and have not departed in the least degree from the confession of Zürich." (Jewel to Bullinger from London April 28, 1559.)

[5] Hooper to Bucer, June 19, 1548. *Original Letters*, xxv. Parker Soc. ed. Hastings Robinson, 1846. p. 45.

washing their hands of Bucer. Lutherans and Zwinglians alike expressed a malicious pleasure when he was compelled by Charles V to flee from Strassburg in 1549 and took refuge in England. His teaching, as found *e.g.* in his *Confessio de Eucharistia* (1550),[6] is much nearer to the Swiss than to the Lutheran view, but it can fairly be described as "Receptionist", and it was being propagated as such in England during the critical period of the Edwardian Reformation. He does repeatedly make something like that "instrumental" connexion of the elements with the body and blood which Cranmer rejected and Calvin accepted, though he prefers to say that the "Presence" (he uses and defends the term) is *per usum* rather than *per symbola* or *per panem et vinum*, and he makes it depend solely on the subjective faith of the communicant. Though such teaching would by no means have satisfied Dr. Pusey or St. Justin Martyr, it closely resembles that of most modern Anglican "Evangelicals".[7] Bucer teaches indeed a doctrine of the "Real Presence", though in the most attenuated form possible without lapsing into the "Real Absence" of Zwingli. Yet the difference between them is more than a question of labels, and Bucer himself—taught by his rebuffs at Zürich—was somewhat polemically conscious of that difference. The question "Was Cranmer a Zwinglian or a Bucerian?" is therefore important for our purpose, and I am grateful to Mr. Timms for raising it plainly, for I must confess that I neglected

[6] *Scripta Anglicana*, Basle 1577. pp. 538 sq. See esp. 33-36, 43-45, and 54. It is more satisfactorily expressed in his *Censura* (1551), but only in incidental statements (see esp. cap. ix pp. 473 *sqq.*)

[7] Mr. Timms's pamphlet has several appreciative things to say of "Receptionism." This seems to be the first time that the Alcuin Club has associated itself with the thesis that this was the teaching that originally informed the eucharistic prayers of our liturgy. Are we now to be told that "loyalty" to our English Prayer-book involves that what we express through a 13th century Frenchified ceremonial shall be the wholesome doctrine of Geneva? The High Church party has performed some curious acrobatics during the last 40 years in the process of "taking its stand upon the Prayer-book", but none, I think, more energetic than this.

it in *The Shape of the Liturgy*. The very fact that the question now forces itself upon an High Churchman in that particular form is in itself an indication of coming changes in the outlook of that party. The legends are dissipating.

But before answering it there are certain things to be said. Mr. Timms concedes that "there are undoubtedly passages in Cranmer's works which have a strong Zwinglian flavour", but he would explain these away by the observation that "It is a common experience to find that in the heat of argument there comes a temptation (which is rarely successfully resisted) to take up a more extreme standpoint than is in fact actually held: words are uttered, statements made, which when passion has died down one would not care judicially to defend". No doubt —but this will hardly do here. These passages were first put out in cold blood, in a statement of doctrine and policy published by the Archbishop of Canterbury acting as such— "moved by the duty, office and place whereunto it hath pleased God to call me"—after months of careful preparation. And he *did* "care to defend them"—and "judicially" is the right word! He repeated and explained them, lucidly and ably, in a series of statements of his eucharistic doctrine, in the end at the risk—and cost—of his life. Whether in prosperity or adversity Cranmer was never a man to make statements and then to run away from them—witness his behaviour before Queen Mary's Council in the early days of her reign, over his "Bill against the setting up again of the Mass". He insisted on taking full personal responsibility for this, though he had not authorized its publication, and must have foreseen the consequences to himself of acknowledging its composition.

Perhaps because his thesis compels him to suppose that this exceptionally cautious statesman, long versed in all the pitfalls of Renaissance politics, was liable to act like an irresponsible controversialist, Mr. Timms goes on to tell us that "the judgement I [Mr. Timms] form of Cranmer is that as a theologian he was competent but unimpressive". From this disparaging verdict I take leave to dissent. We know, at all events, that it would not have been accepted by contemporary theologians,

hostile or friendly. To take but one instance out of a score available, no one who had read Cranmer's disputation at Harpsfield's Doctoring at Oxford would write him down as "unimpressive". Harpsfield was to dispute for his Doctor's degree on the very day after Cranmer's conviction of heresy. The ex-archbishop was still a Doctor of Divinity, and as such was brought from Bocardo to be present at the academic tournament customary on such occasions, and after a while was courteously invited to take part. For once Foxe's martyrological turgidity is laid aside, and the suppleness and brilliance of Cranmer's handling of argument shines out in its own vigour. After some brief exchanges the unfortunate Harpsfield retires worsted from the centre of the stage, and Cranmer—d'Artagnan-like—calmly engages the two vice-Chancellors and all the leading Masters of the two Divinity faculties of Oxford and Cambridge in a set scholastic defence of his personal teaching on the Eucharist. There is still a flash of excitement after all these years in the breathless, disjointed account of his swift and dexterous encounter single-handed with all the leading professional theologians in England. Cranmer may not impress the members of the Alcuin Club, but Weston—the Prolocutor of Convocation and one of his judges on the previous day—wondered at a technical display so far beyond the common, and at the coolness of the master who could give it in such circumstances. "Your wonderful behaviour and modesty, good Master Cranmer, is worthy much commendation: and that I may not deprive you or your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in mine own name and in the name of all my brethren". It is one of the few moments which can give pleasure in the whole piteous business. "At the which saying", adds Foxe, "all the Doctors gently put off their caps."[8]

Let me add that this question of the Eucharist had then been debated with the greatest minuteness and intensity, not only between Catholics and Protestants, but among the various Protestant factions themselves, for more than twenty years, and that Cranmer shows himself thoroughly acquainted with the

[8] Foxe. *Acts and Monuments*, 1583, p. 1462.

controversial literature. As early as 1537 he had been studying with special care this very question of the differences between the school of Zwingli and Oecolampadius on the one hand and that of the Protestant defenders of a "Real Presence" on the other. When nearly ten years later he finally abandoned his belief in transubstantiation, it was only as the result of long pondering on the Zwinglian thesis. If he had not clearly understood the points at issue after this mature consideration, Mr. Timms can hardly be right in describing him as theologically "competent". Is it unfair, in the circumstances, to dismiss Mr. Timms's finding as a factitious judgement, arrived at—doubtless all unconsciously—for the salvage of a theory in difficulties?

I take this preliminary exception to Mr. Timms's judgement and methods, partly because he seems to me quite unfair to the man he is judging, and partly because, if he were right, there could be no solution to the problem before us, "Bucerian or Zwinglian", but only an indecisive balancing of incoherent extracts. It *is* difficult to represent Cranmer fairly by extracts unless they are somewhat copious, but only because in all his writings on the topic from 1549 onwards, he always puts forward a rigidly compact and coherent doctrine of the Eucharist, every aspect of which and every argument only gains its full meaning when it is taken exactly with all the rest. I have made a careful analysis of the *Defence* (1551), his first systematic treatment of the Eucharist. It is remarkable to see with what consistency the whole structure is reproduced in each of his succeeding treatments, down to the *Explication* put in in writing at his trial. It is put forward in varying arrangements and in slightly different ways, but every limb of the system is carefully included each time, though with more or less elaboration in the different works. This "systematic" aspect of Cranmer's writing is in itself an adequate safeguard against the sort of heated *obiter dicta* of which Mr. Timms accuses him. What has, I think, hitherto been missed is that this "system" is not of his own devising. Right down to many details of the argument and to the arrangement of particular biblical and patristic texts

in support of particular links in it, it is common to a whole school of sixteenth century theologians, writing both in England and abroad. Here I can only illustrate this fact in particulars. (I hope to do so more at length in a book I am preparing as a contribution to the celebration of the fourth centenary of the Prayer-book in 1949.) One may question Cranmer's originality as a theologian, but not, I should say, his mastery of contemporary theological technique, nor his clear understanding of contemporary theological thought about the Eucharist, English and Continental, Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed. What is wholly his own is the force and skill with which he used the system he had embraced, and the verbal beauty of the liturgical expression which he gave to its ideas.

We shall be occupied here only with the strictly historical question, What did Archbishop Cranmer actually believe and teach? It would be useless to pretend, of course, that no practical consequences follow from the answer we give to that. No doubt they do, for all of us. But they cannot usefully be considered until that answer is established, and here I shall confine myself to doing that.

Now let us come at once to the nub of the matter. Did Cranmer teach a Bucerian "Receptionism"?

Mr. Timms selects from Cranmer's *Defence* (1550) four passages which seem to him clearly to teach this doctrine, thus:

> (a) "And here is diligently to be noted that we ought not irreverently and unadvisedly to approach unto the meat of the Lord's table, as we do with other common meats and drinks, but with great fear and dread, lest we should come to that holy table unworthily, wherein is *not only represented, but spiritually given unto us* very Christ himself". (Italics Mr. Timms's).[9]
>
> (b) "In the holy communion we ought not to receive the bread and wine as other common meats and drinks, but as things changed into a higher state, nature and condition, to be taken as holy meats and drinks, whereby we receive

[9] *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine, etc.*, III, 15. Cranmer *Remains*, ed. Jenkyns, Oxford, 1833, Vol. II, p. 402.

spiritual feeding and supernatural nourishment from heaven, of the very true body and blood of our Saviour Christ, through the omnipotent power of God and the wonderful working of the Holy Ghost ".[10]

(c) " Sacramental mutation declareth the supernatural and inexplicable eating and drinking, feeding and digesting of the same body and blood of Christ, in all them that godly and according to their duty, do receive the said sacramental bread and wine ".[11]

(d) " The bread and wine be not so changed into the flesh and blood of Christ that they be made one nature, but they still remain distinct in nature, so that the bread in itself is not his flesh and the wine his blood, but unto them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, to them the bread and wine be his flesh and blood; that is to say, by things natural and which they be accustomed unto, they (*sc.* the communicants) be exalted unto things above nature. For the sacramental bread and wine *be not bare and naked figures but so pithy and effectuous,* that whoever worthily eateth them, eateth spiritually Christ's flesh and blood, and hath by them everlasting life. Wherefore whosoever cometh to the Lord's table must come with all humility, fear, reverence and purity of life, as to receive not only bread and wine, but also our Saviour Christ both God and man, with all his benefits, to the relief and sustentation both of our bodies and souls ". (Italics Mr. Timms's).[12]

Such passages are not difficult to find in Cranmer's works. Here is another, taken from another of Cranmer's works, which looks even clearer:

(e) " And although the holy supper of the Lord be not a vain and fantastical supper, wherein things should be promised, which be not performed, to them that worthily come thereunto, but Christ's flesh and blood be there truly eaten and drunken indeed; yet that mystical supper cannot be without mysteries and figures. And although we feed in deed of Christ's body, and drink in deed of his blood, yet not corporately (*i.e.* corporally), quantitatively and palpably, as

[10] *Defence,* II, 13, *ibid.,* p. 359.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 350.
[12] *Defence,* III, 15. *Ibid.,* p. 422.

we shall be regenerated at the resurrection, and as he was betrayed, walked here in earth and was very man ".[13]

Do these and similar passages prove that Cranmer shared Bucer's " Receptionism "? Before finally making up our minds, let us look at some more statements, which may seem equally convincing:

(i) " By this sacrament we are indeed made partakers of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and be therewith nourished and fed in the house of the Lord, which is his church, after that into the same we are entered through baptism ".

(ii) " I believe and confess the very body of Christ to be in heaven on the right hand of the Father; and that always and as often as we use this bread and wine according to the ordinance and institution of Christ, we do verily and indeed receive his body and blood. I believe that this receiving is not done carnally or bodily, but spiritually through a true and lively faith . . . I believe that this sacrament containeth two things: the one is earthly, carnal and visible; the other is heavenly, spiritual and invisible. And I confess that as our body and outward man receiveth the thing that is earthly and visible, which is the bread and wine, whereby the body is nourished and fed, even so verily our spirit and inward man receiveth the thing that is heavenly and spiritual, which is signified by the bread and wine, that is to say the body and blood of Christ, after such sort, that thereby we are become one with him, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, and made partakers with him of all righteousness, the which the eternal Father hath bestowed on him."

(iii) " I do expressly profess, that I condemn not or flatly am against all manner of Christ's presence in the Church, and in the action also of the supper; for I am flat against that bodily presence of Christ in the bread, which the Papists defend and enforce upon the Church of God. But I confess and acknowledge with open mouth and sincere heart that spiritual divine and quickening presence of our Lord Christ, both in the supper and also out of the supper, whereby he continueth to pour himself into us not by signs

[13] *Answer to a Crafty and Sophisticall Cavillation.* Parker Soc. *Cranmer,* II, 1844, p. 87.

lacking life but by his Holy Spirit, to make us partakers of all his good graces, to justify, quicken, nourish, sustain and satisfy us: which presence we do also feel in ourselves through faith, by the which we are both sustained, nourished and satisfied".

(iv) "Furthermore, the Lord's body is not only that spiritual body of the Lord, to wit the church of the faithful, but that very body which the Lord took of the Virgin, and offered up for our redemption, and that now sitteth at the right hand of the Father. To be short, the bread of the sacrament in the supper is the Lord's body; it is, I say, the sacrament of the true body which was given for us. Whosoever, therefore, putteth no difference between this, the Lord's mystical bread and profane meat, but cometh to Christ's table as he would to a table of common and gross meat, and acknowledgeth not that this heavenly meat differeth far from other human meat, neither cometh after that sort as the Lord hath instituted but followeth his own reason; surely he maketh no difference of the Lord's body, but eateth and drinketh his own damnation".

(v) We assert therefore that the body of Christ is not so eaten carnally and grossly in the supper as they insist, but we believe the true body of Christ is eaten sacramentally and spiritually in the supper by the religious faithful and holy mind, as Saint Chrysostom also thinketh".

Here, at all events, it will hardly be denied that we have Bucer's doctrine. Unfortunately the first two come from Bishop Hooper,[14] whom we have already seen blandly rejecting Bucer's doctrine in Bucer's face, and whom Mr. Timms tells us was the leader of the Zwinglian party in England. The third and fourth are taken from Bullinger's *Decades*; all Zürich took him for the very heir of Zwingli's mind, and he also had three times rejected the eucharistic doctrine of the universally eirenic Bucer, after long personal colloquies and

[14] *A Brief and Clear Confession of the Christian Faith*, 63, 66; *ap. Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, ed. Nevinson, Parker Soc., 1852, pp. 47 and 49.

the exchange of numerous memoranda.[15] The fifth comes from the conclusion of Zwingli's last work posthumously published;[16] and Zwingli passed for a "Zwinglian" at least in his own estimation (though Mr. Timms seems to share Dr. Barclay's unfounded doubts whether he was one). He, too, had rejected Bucer's eucharistic doctrine in the negotiations which preceded the Colloquy of Marburg in 1529, as well as during the Colloquy itself.

These three writers are usually taken for pillars of authentic Zwinglianism; but lest Mr. Timms should innocently conclude that they, too, were all Receptionists, and that there never were any Zwinglians at all, let me hasten to add passages from the same works which may restore their rightful reputations.

> (vi) "I believe that this holy supper is a sacrament of faith unto the faithful only, and not for the infidels; wherein a man findeth and receiveth no more than he bringeth with him, saving peradventure the increase of faith, grace and virtue. And therefore they only find and receive Jesus Christ unto salvation, which through true and lively faith bring the same with them".[17]
>
> (vii) "Wherefore these solemn words, 'This is my body which is broken for you' and likewise 'This is my blood which is shed for you', can have none other sense than this: This is a commemoration, memorial or remembrance, sign or sacrament, of my body given for you; this cup or rather the wine in the cup, signifieth or representeth unto you my blood which was once shed for you. For there followeth in the Lord's solemn words that which notably

[15] *Decades,* v, ix, ed. Harding, Parker Soc., 1852, pp. 453 and 470 *sq.* These sermons were published at Zürich in March, 1551, with a dedication to an English Zwinglian, Lord Grey. An English version of the parts relating to the Sacraments was published in London the next month, with a licence from Cranmer, who said that he had not read it, but Bullinger's works "needed no examination." Pp. 453-461 of this particular sermon are directed specifically against Receptionism.

[16] *Fidei Christianae Expositio. Opp.* ed. Schuler & Schulthess, *t* iv., 1841, p. 74.

[17] Hooper, *Brief and Clear Confession,* 67. *Op. cit.* p. 49.

confirmeth this meaning: 'Do this in remembrance of me'. As if he should say: Now I am present with you, before your eyes; I shall die and ascend up into heaven, and then shall this holy bread and wine be a memorial or token of my body given and my blood shed. Then break the bread and eat it, distribute the cup and drink it; and do this in remembrance of me, praising my benefits bestowed on you in redeeming you and giving you life".[18]

(viii) "Furthermore, it hath for long been disputed keenly among us what the sacraments or symbols do or can do in the supper, they (*sc.* Lutherans and Receptionists) contending that the sacraments give faith and make present (*adferre*) the natural body of Christ, and bring it to pass that being present it is eaten. But we think otherwise, not without good reason. First, because faith, which is confidence in God, none but the Holy Spirit giveth, and no outward thing. Yet the sacraments do cause belief, but only historical belief (*faciant fidem sed historicam*). For all festivals, trophies, yea, monuments and statues, cause historical belief, that is they advertise us that once upon a time something was done, the memory of which is polished up—like the feast of the Passover among the Jews, or the *Seisachtheia* among the Athenians. Or else they remind us that a victory was gained on that very spot, like the 'Stone of Help'. So in this way the Lord's Supper causes faith, namely, that it testifies that of a certainty Christ was born and suffered. But unto whom testifieth it this? Unto faithful and unfaithful men alike. For unto all it signifieth all that lieth in the power of the sacrament to signify—that Christ suffered, whether they will receive him or no. But that he suffered *for us,* this it signifieth only to the devout and faithful. For no one knows or believes that Christ suffered *for us,* save him to whom the Spirit hath inwardly taught to know the mystery of God's goodness. He alone receives Christ. Therefore nothing else but the Spirit giveth faith in God".[19]

There is not much doubt about the meaning of such statements as these. It would appear, therefore, that Cranmer was

[18] Bullinger, *Decades,* v, ix. *Ed. cit.* p. 439.
[19] Zwingli, *Expos. Fid. Christ. Opp. Ed. cit. t.* iv, 55.

not the only contemporary author who could set side by side in the same work about the Eucharist what Mr. Timms calls "passages which have a strong Zwinglian flavour" and others which might at first sight appear to be patient of a "Receptionist" interpretation. But that it would be tedious, it would be easy to show that this is true not only of Cranmer, Hooper, Bullinger and Zwingli, but also of Oecolampadius, Vadianus, Pellican, Megander, Gualter, à Lasco and others, about whose doctrinal allegiance no one pretends there is any ambiguity. It cannot in all these cases be set down to the effects of inadvertance, controversial hastiness or self-misrepresentation, or even theological incompetence, unless we are to postulate these things almost on an epidemic scale among theologians who played a notable part in European controversy for a whole generation. Nor did their Protestant opponents (excepting Luther) pretend that this was the explanation of their apparent self-contradiction. They had read their works.

The explanation lies in the peculiar Zwinglian definition of what the New Testament means by "eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ." Zwingli himself puts the matter epigrammatically in his *Epistle concerning the Lord's Supper* to Matthaeus Alber: *Tunc editur corpus eius quum pro nobis creditur caesum;* "Then is his body eaten, when he is believed to have been slain for us."[20] This is from his earliest exposition of the eucharist (1523), but he returns again and again to

[20] *Epist. de Coena Dominica* (*t.* iii, p. 595). The whole passage may be useful, since it is directed against the moderate Protestant view: "If the eating be 'spiritual' (as the Lutherans maintain) why do you bring in an eating of the body? If the eating be corporal, what else but the body (really present) will serve? Thus Christ wills that we eat his flesh, that is except we believe that he met his death and shed his blood for us, we shall have no life. On the other hand, if we do eat his flesh, that is believe that he died for us, and drink his blood, that is firmly believe that his blood was shed for us, then Christ dwelleth in us and we in him. But is Christ in any man corporally? By no means. Then what question is there of the eating of his body? Then is his body eaten when we believe that he was slain for us. It is of faith therefore, and not of eating, that Christ speaks."

this definition at great length in every work that he wrote on the subject, down to the *Expositio Fidei* written just before his death.

" To eat the body of Christ spiritually is *nothing else but in spirit and mind to rely on the mercy and goodness of God through Christ,* that is, to be certain with an unshaken faith that God will give us remission of sins and the joy of eternal beatitude for his Son's sake, who was made altogether ours and offered for us, and has reconciled the justice of God to us. For what can he deny us who gave us his only-begotten Son? But sacramentally to eat the body of Christ, when we speak properly, *is to eat the body of Christ with our mind and spirit with the addition of the sacrament* (*adjuncto sacramento mente ac spiritu corpus Christi edere*). You do spiritually eat the body of Christ, but not sacramentally, whenever you say unto your anxious mind: How will you be saved? You sin daily, yet you daily hasten nearer death. After this life there is another, for how should that mind (*animus*) wherewith we are endowed, which is anxious about future things, how should that be extinguished? How should all this great light and knowledge be turned into darkness and oblivion? Since the life of souls is eternal, of what sort will be that which falls to my little soul? Happy or miserable? I will examine and enquire which my life deserves. And here horror will possess you when you see the mighty array of things amiss which we men are wont to do from our passions and concupiscence, so that by your own judgment you will pronounce yourself unworthy of eternal happiness and forthwith give up all hope of it. But I say that when you thus comfort your fearful mind: God is good; if he is good he should be just and merciful and fair; for justice without mercy and fairness is the greatest wrong, mercy without justice is negligence, wantonness and the end of all discipline. So, since God is just, needs must be that his justice should be satisfied for my crimes. Since he is merciful, I must not despair of his pardon. I have an infallible pledge of both, his only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, whom of his mercy he has given unto us to be ours. He indeed offered himself to his Father for us to pacify his eternal justice, that so we might be ascertained of his mercy and the expiation

> wrought to his justice for our sins by none other than his own Son, whom out of love he gave to us. . . . [There follows more meditation on the same lines.] . . . What devil, then, shall frighten me into fearing him when I have such a helper? Who shall take from me that which God himself has given me, and his Son, my pledge and surety? *Whenever you thus comfort yourself with Christ, then you do spiritually eat his body*, that is you stand fearless in God against all the weapons of despair, trusting in the manhood taken for your sake. But when you come to the Lord's Supper with this spiritual eating, and give thanks to God for this great benefit, for the deliverance of your soul whereby you were delivered from the ruin of despair, and for the pledge whereby you are assured of eternal bliss; and partake with your brethren of the bread and wine which are the symbols of the body of Christ (*quae jam symbolicum Christi corpus sunt*) then you do truly eat sacramentally; that is when you work within you that same thing which you do outwardly, when the mind is refreshed with that faith which you do testify by the symbols ".[21]

I have made bold to include this long citation because most modern Anglicans find some difficulty in grasping the fact that in the sixteenth century the " spiritual eating of Christ's body " could be regarded as something not directly connected with receiving Holy Communion at all. It is here a purely mental and emotional exercise, which the reception of Holy Communion can on occasion accompany, but which is in no sense whatever dependent on participation in the Lord's Supper. " *Then is his body eaten when we believe that he was slain for us.*" Until we have grasped the implications of that we are not in any position to assess the doctrinal *nuances* of the language of any sixteenth-century Protestant author about the eucharist. The acceptance or the rejection of this definition seems to be a simple and reliable test for Zwinglianism. I have found it explicitly endorsed by eleven authors whom we know on other grounds to have been Zwinglians; it is rejected, often with some heat, by Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, Alber, Westphal and

[21] *Fid. Christ. Expos.*, iv. *Ed. cit. t.* iv, p. 53 *sq.* (Italics mine.)

others, whom we know to have opposed Zwinglianism. It is easy enough to see why this should be so. It is the key-phrase in the inter-Protestant controversy, and the point of a bitter and prolonged dispute for 25 years before 1550.

Here, for instance, is Hooper: "To eat the body of Christ is nothing else than to believe, as he himself teaches in the Sixth of John. It is necessary therefore to bring Christ to the sacraments by faith and not to look for him there."[22]

Here is Bullinger:

> "'I am', saith the Lord, 'that bread of life: whoso cometh to me shall not hunger and whoso believeth in me shall not thirst for ever' . . . To 'eat' therefore is to 'come', and to 'come' is to 'eat'. And what it is to come to him he expoundeth immediately saying: 'Whosoever hath heard from the Father, and hath learned, he it is that cometh to me'; that is to say, receiveth me and believeth in me. For Paul also saith: 'Whosoever will come to God must believe'. These testimonies without contradiction do prove that to 'eat' is nothing else but to 'believe'. Yet that followeth which is more manifest: 'And whoso believeth in Me shall never thirst'. 'And whoso drinketh does not thirst'; therefore to 'drink' he hath put for to 'believe'. Therefore to 'drink' is to 'believe'; for faith satisfieth and pacifieth our minds. Here they (*sc.*: the "Receptionists", against whom this particular passage is explicitly directed) have an answer that makes directly against this objection, whether the Lord himself had not words whereby he might declare his mind, if so be that by 'eating' and 'drinking' he had meant 'believing'? They have, I say, an open testimony whereby he useth one for the other".[23]

Bullinger then goes on for eight more pages to labour the point against the Receptionists.

It will be one decisive indication (among several available) of the ground which Cranmer finally took up in the contemporary eucharistic controversies of Protestants, if we find that he adopted this definition of what is meant by "spiritually

[22] *Original Letters*, I. *Ed.* Robinson, Parker Soc., 1846, p. 47.
[23] *Decades*, v, ix. *Ed. cit.* p. 458-9.

eating the body of Christ", as simply "believing" in the Passion. He did so—not once nor twice, not casually and in passing, but persistently and for years together, as the logical foundation of all his systematic teaching on the Eucharist. I give only a selection of the passages in which he states this:

> "This spiritual meat of Christ's body and blood is not received in the mouth and digested in the stomach (as corporal meats and drinks commonly be), but is received with a pure heart and a sincere faith. And *the true eating and drinking of the said body and blood of Christ is with a constant and lively faith to believe that Christ gave his body and shed his blood upon the cross for us,* and that he doth so join and incorporate himself to us that he is our head and we his members and flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones having him dwelling in us and we in him. *And herein standeth the whole effect of this sacrament.* And this faith God worketh inwardly in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, and confirmeth the same outwardly to our other senses by eating and drinking of the sacramental bread and wine in the holy supper".[24]
>
> "The eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood is not to be understanded simply and plainly as the words do properly signify, that we do eat and drink him with our mouths; but it is a figurative speech spiritually to be understanded, *that we must deeply print and fruitfully believe with our hearts that his flesh was crucified and his blood shed for our redemption. And this our belief in him is to eat his flesh and drink his blood,* although they be not here present with us, but be ascended into heaven. As our forfathers before Christ's time did likewise eat his flesh and drink his blood, which was so far from them that it was not yet born".[25]
>
> "The true eating of Christ's very flesh and drinking of his blood" is ". . . an inward spiritual and pure eating with heart and mind, *which is to believe in our hearts that his flesh was rent and torn for us upon the cross and his blood shed for our redemption,* and that the same flesh and

[24] *Defence,* i, 16. Cranmer *Remains, ed.* Jenkins, Vol.ii, p. 306. (Italics mine.)

[25] *Defence,* III, 10. *Ed. cit.* p. 381. (Italics mine.)

blood now sitteth at the right hand of the Father, making continual intercession for us; and *to imprint and digest this in our minds,* putting our whole affiance and trust in him as teaching our salvation, and offering ourselves clearly unto him to love and serve him all the days of our life. This is truly, sincerely and spiritually to eat his flesh and drink his blood ".[26]

" But as the devil is the food of the wicked, whom he nourisheth in all iniquity and bringeth up to everlasting damnation: so is Christ the very food of all them that be lively members of his body, and them he feedeth, bringeth up and cherisheth unto everlasting life. And every good and faithful Christian man feeleth in himself how he feedeth of Christ, eating his flesh and drinking of his blood. For he putteth the whole trust and hope of his redemption and salvation in that only sacrifice which Christ made upon the cross, having his body there broken and his blood there shed for the remission of sins. And this great benefit of Christ the faithful man earnestly considereth it in his mind, chaweth and digesteth it with the stomach of his heart, spiritually receiving Christ wholly into him. And this is the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, the feeding whereof is the feeling how he eateth and drinketh Christ, which none evil man nor member of the devil can do ".[27]

These are, I repeat, only a selection from the passages in the *Defence* in which Cranmer returns again and again to the definition of what he means by " spiritually eating the body of Christ." He says that he means by it *not* the reception of Holy Communion, but what Hooper, Bullinger and Zwingli say they mean by it: " Then is his body eaten when we believe that he was slain for us." It is therefore not to the purpose for Mr. Timms to cite occasional passages in which Cranmer speaks of this purely mental process when it is accidentally accompanied by the reception of bread and wine, as though in these cases the phrase " spiritually to eat the body " implied a properly *sacramental* doctrine. The two things are quite independent of each other. I had said this in *The Shape of the*

[26] *Defence,* iii, 15. *Ed. cit.* p. 404 *sq.* (Italics mine.)
[27] *Defence,* iv, 2. *Ed. cit.* p. 426, *sq.*

Liturgy as plainly as I could, but the point seems not to have been understood, and since Mr. Timms has taken it upon himself to declare that it is my own invention and "cannot be found in Cranmer", let us turn, for variety, to another work of his to illuminate Cranmer's mind:

> "The spiritual eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood by faith, *by digesting his death in our minds*, as our only price, ransom and redemption from eternal damnation, is the cause wherefore Christ said 'That if we eat not his flesh and drink not his blood we have not life in us; and if we eat his flesh and drink his blood we have everlasting life'. *And if Christ had never ordained the sacrament yet should we have eaten his flesh and drunken his blood and have had thereby everlasting life;* as all the faithful did before the sacrament was ordained and do daily when they receive not the sacrament".[28]

This is certainly plain speaking. But he was no less forthright before his judges:

> "Christ saith not thus: 'This is my body, eat ye'; but after he had bidden them eat then he said 'This is my body which shall be given for you'. Which is to mean as though he should say 'In the eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mystical matter; neither do you attend to that which set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and behold my body crucified for you: that eat and digest in your minds. *Chaw you upon my passion, be fed with my death. This is the true meat,* this is the drink that moisteneth, wherewith you being fed and inebriate shall live for ever'".[29]

If ever there was a moment in Cranmer's life when he desired to say exactly what he meant, it was when this paper was produced. "For so much as all things come not readily to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit", were the words with which he handed it across the court for

[28] *Answer*, i, 20. *Ed. cit.* p. 25. (Italics mine.)

[29] *Explication* 2. Cranmer, *Writings and Disputations*, ed. Cox, Parker Soc., 1844, p. 399. (Italics mine.)

his judges. If he agreed with Bucer nothing was easier than to say as Bucer had said:

> "For the Lord instituted this his communion as a *κοινωνία* of his body and blood, as the Holy Ghost calleth it (I Cor. x), that therein we might receive not bread and wine only. For then it must be called not a communion of the body and blood of the Lord, but a communion of bread and wine. Then there had been no reason why the Lord, when he said in distributing the bread and wine to his disciples, 'Take, eat and drink', should have added 'This is my body, This is my blood'. We here receive, therefore, not bread only and wine, but at the same time (*simul*) his body and blood; and not these alone but with them the whole Christ, God and man".[30]

So Bucer, whose exegesis of the same passage leads him to another conclusion than Cranmer's. For Cranmer to have said something like that in his *Explication* would not have saved his life, because it would have been a confession of the heresy of Receptionism. But it could not have worsened his position. Cranmer did not say it because he did not believe it. Instead he said what he believed. In actually partaking of the sacrament—"chaw you upon my passion; be fed with my death." *Tunc editur corpus eius quum pro nobis creditur caesum.* As Zwingli had taught, it is only by "faith" in this sense, not by the reception of the sacrament at all, that the body of Christ is eaten. Or, as Hooper put it, "A man findeth and receiveth no more in the holy Supper than he bringeth with him." The doctrine of the "Real Absence" could not be more serenely and pregnantly stated than it was by Cranmer in this his final testimony.

I do not wish to labour the point unduly, but it is not possible to understand Cranmer rightly at all (or some of the Anglican formularies in their original sense), unless he is compared in detail with contemporary writers, and set fairly against the background of the passionate eucharistic controversies going on *among Protestants* in his day. Then his position is unmistakable. He is a Zwinglian, not of the left wing like Megander,

[30] Bucer, *Censura* ix. *Scripta Anglicana*, Basle, 1577, p. 473.

nor of the right like Calvin and Favel, but of the centre like Bullinger.[31] It is mainly because he has quite failed to see Cranmer as a writer and thinker of the "fifteen-forties" and "fifteen-fifties" that Mr. Timms has been so unfortunate in his choice of passages for citation. The greater part of those by which he endeavours to prove that Cranmer was *not* a Zwinglian actually contain commonplaces of the Zwinglian publicists of the time. The three passages which he cites from Bucer to prove that Cranmer *was* a Bucerian actually condemn substantial parts of Cranmer's own teaching. It would be unbearably tedious to go through all Mr. Timms's forty or more extracts, but I will give some examples to illustrate the point.

(i) Mr. Timms cites from Bucer the condemnation of those who hold that though Christ is absent from the holy supper, yet "by this remembrance, however, their minds are lifted up into heaven that they may enjoy Christ there." It is, of course, the ordinary doctrine of the "central" Zwinglians. Here is Hooper's statement of it:

> "The body and blood of Christ are not given to the mouth and belly for the nourishing of the body, but unto our faith for the nourishing of the spirit and inward man unto eternal life. And for that cause we have no need that Christ should come from heaven to us, but that we should ascend to him, lifting up our hearts through a lively faith on high unto the right hand of the Father, where Christ sitteth . . ."[32]

[31] Zwingli had died twenty years before, in 1531, and the voluminous writings of his brief career (1522-31) were all hastily composed *livres d'occasion*, except the *de Providentia Dei* and some of the Commentaries. There had therefore been need for some systematization and development of his teaching by his followers to secure an ordered body of theology, and in the course of this some divergences occurred which were not without importance in contemporary discussion. Cranmer, however, almost always ignores these later developments and keeps soundly to the main lines of Zwingli's own teaching, though he borrows a good deal in patristic exegesis from Oecolampadius.

[32] *Brief and Clear Confession*, 66, *ed. cit.*, p. 49.

And here is Cranmer's:

> "We should understand the sacrament not carnally but spiritually; and should attend, not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and the cup, thinking to see there with our eyes no other things but bread and wine; but that lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith, should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man; and that being like eagles in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sins of the world; by whose stripes we are made whole; by whose passion we are filled at his table; and whose blood we receiving out of his holy side, do live for ever . . ."[33]

That is what Cranmer means by the reception of Holy Communion: an exclusively *mental* contact with an absent Christ. And that is precisely what Bucer, in the passage cited by Mr. Timms, condemns as inadequate.

(ii) Among a number of complicated mistakes as to what Bucer actually said in his *Censura* about the Book of 1549, Mr. Timms comforts himself for the changes made in the "Prayer of Thanksgiving" in 1552 with the reflection that "the Prayer remains quite un-Zwinglian in tone by the very retention of the phrase 'holy mysteries'." It is puzzling that he should say that when "the holy mysteries" is the regular contemporary Zürich term for the Holy Communion. Here, for instance, is Bullinger in the single sermon I have been using for comparison with Cranmer (*Decades*, Sermon v. ix):

> "This holy mystery hath divers other names . . ." (p. 403).
> ". . . So likewise do the faithful make an end with this holy mystery with giving of thanks . . ." (p. 407).
> ". . . Then replied the minister 'Lift up your hearts', admonishing that the holy mysteries shall be celebrated . . ." (p. 408).
> "After the rehearsal of the Lord's Prayer, the people received the holy mysteries . . ." (p. 409).
> "But why the Lord instituted this mystery . . ." (p. 410).

[33] *Explication*, 2, *ed. cit.*, p. 398.

"Cyprian the martyr holdeth opinion that in this mystery the wine ought not to be unmingled . . ." (p. 411).

". . . so in those holy mysteries (the Apostles) have not overthrown that doctrine of theirs . . ." (p. 419).

". . . forbidding that no priest should minister this holy mystery in wooden vessels . . ." (p. 420).

"(Ceremonies) are so far from giving any majesty to the mysteries that they bring them rather into contempt . . ." (p. 421).

"The matter is indifferent . . . whether a man take the holy mysteries in his own hand or receive it into the mouth at the hand of him that ministereth . . ." (p. 422).

"Our Lord . . . reached for the mysteries, saying 'Take . . . " (p. 422).

"The ministers carry the holy mysteries about the congregation . . ." (p. 422).

There must be at least half a dozen more examples in this one sermon, but I need not continue.

(iii) I drew attention in *The Shape of the Liturgy* (pp. 648-9) to a number of curious passages in which Cranmer insists that the New Testament is not to be understood as teaching that "we shall eat Christ with our teeth grossly and carnally, but that we shall spiritually and ghostly with our faith eat him being carnally absent from us in heaven; and *in such wise as Abraham and other holy fathers did eat him many years before he was incarnated and born* . . . for they spiritually by their faith were fed and nourished with Christ's body and blood, and had eternal life by him before he was born *as we have now* after his ascension . . ." (*Defence*, III, 10, p. 378). Cranmer returns to this idea a good many times, and in each of his works, and I had pointed out that this was an evidence of Zwinglianism and the doctrine of the "Real Absence".

Mr. Timms came to the rescue of Cranmer's orthodoxy with a passage from St. Augustine on the eating of the manna, and the drinking of "the Rock" referred to by St. Paul, and denied that Cranmer "was saying anything novel, or that he had to go to Zwingli for it". I fear that I took too much for granted, and omitted to give the clue; but Mr. Timms might have been warned by Cranmer's repeated references to

Abraham and other pre-Mosaic patriarchs that manna was not the essential of the matter (though I should agree that Augustine said some things which Zwingli and Cranmer were able to quote with devastating effect against the Lutherans and Receptionists).

The real reference is to a theory of Zwingli's which caused a great disturbance in the world of Protestant theology when he first put it out, and involved him in acrimonious correspondence with half the Reforming leaders of his own day. He taught that there had always been two sacraments and only two —Circumcision and the Passover under the old dispensation, replaced by Baptism and the Eucharist under the new. This might well have passed, but he also taught that the change of sign *made no difference whatever* to the content and effect of the sacraments under the two dispensations. Neither Circumcision nor Baptism remitted sins nor conveyed grace. They were both simply outward "signs" and "seals" of the "faith" by which the recipients were justified before God *independently* of these ordinances.[34] Neither Passover nor Eucharist conveyed the gift of Christ; they were "signs" and "seals" or "sacraments" which expressed the inward "faith" of the recipients that Christ would suffer or had suffered for our sins. The theory was of course rejected by all believers in the "Real Presence" in any form, since it was impossible for the Patriarchs to have "received the body of Christ" in any but a metaphorical sense. It was insisted on by all the Zwinglians because it so exactly expressed their view of the content of the Christian Sacraments. Here, for instance, is Hooper's expression of it:

> "I believe that the holy patriarchs, prophets and all other faithful and good people that are gone before us and have died in the faith, through the word and faith saw him beforehand which was to come, and received as much and the same thing that we receive by the sacraments. For they were of the self-same church, faith and law that we be of. They were as well Christians as we, and used the same sacraments in figure that we use in truth".[35]

[34] Cranmer certainly shared this view of baptism, but this is not here in question.

[35] *A Brief and Clear Confession*, 69, *ed. cit.*, p. 50.

Here is Bullinger's:

> " But this promise and communion of Christ is not now first of all given in the supper or by the supper. For the Lord our God, immediately after the creation of the world, promised life and remission of sins unto Adam and his seed through Jesus Christ, and afterwards renewed the same with Noe, Abraham, Moses and David and the other Fathers ".[36]

Cranmer was quite clear in his own mind about this matter: he reproaches Gardiner:

> " This is a marvellous doctrine of you to say that Christ was the body of all the shadows and figures of the law, and did exhibit and give in his sacraments of the new law the things promised in the sacraments of the old law. For he is the body of all the figures, as well of the new law as of the old; and did exhibit and give his promises in the sacraments of the old law, as he doth now in the sacraments of the new law. And we must understand the words spoken in the institution of the sacraments in both the laws, figuratively as concerning the sacraments, and without figure as concerning the things by them promised, signified and exhibited: as in Circumcision was given the same thing to them that is given to us in Baptism, and the same by manna that we have at the Lord's table. Only this difference was between them and us, that our redemption by Christ's death and passion was then only promised, and now it is performed and past. And as their sacraments were figures of his death to come, so be ours figures of the same now past and gone. And yet it was all but one Christ to them and us; who gave life, comfort and strength to them by his death to come, and giveth the same to us by his death past. And he was in their sacraments spiritually and effectually present, that is to say, in deed, before he was born, no less than he is now in our sacraments present after his death and ascension into heaven. But as for carnal presence, he was to them not yet come; and to us he is come and gone again unto his Father from whom he came ".[37]

Gardiner, with whom a massive common sense did duty as a rule for theological speculation, saw through this delicately

[36] *Decades*, v, ix, *ed. cit.*, p. 434; *cp. Decades Serm.* V, vii, p. 298.
[37] *Answer*, Bk. iii, 58, *ed. cit.*, p. 60.

spun stuff, and insisted plainly:

> "The fathers did eat Christ's body and drink his blood in truth of promise, which was effectual to them of redemption to be wrought; not in truth of presence (as we do) for confirmation of redemption already wrought. They had a certain promise and we a certain present payment: they did eat Christ spiritually, believing in him that was to come, but they did not eat Christ's body present in the sacrament sacramentally and spiritually as we do. Their sacraments were figures of the things, but ours contain the very things".[38]

Cranmer took him up vigorously for this:

> "Note well here, reader, how the cuttle cometh in with his dark colours . . . the fathers and prophets did eat Christ's body and drink his blood in promise of redemption to be wrought, and we eat and drink the same flesh and blood in confirmation of our faith in the redemption already wrought . . . And although before the crucifying of his flesh and effusion of his blood our redemption was not actually wrought by Christ, yet was he spiritually and sacramentally present, and spiritually and sacramentally eaten and drunken not only of the Apostles at his last supper before he suffered his passion, but also of the holy patriarchs and fathers before his incarnation, as well as he is now of us after his ascension".[39]

Here perhaps we can bring the question to a plain issue. Has Mr. Timms rightly stated what Cranmer means by "spiritually eating"? "Faith", says Mr. Timms, "is for Cranmer the spiritual 'mouth' whereby the body and blood of Christ (an objective reality outside the worshipper, albeit a spiritual and not a physical reality) enter the heart and soul". I fear that this just will not do at all. The body and blood of Christ were "taken of the very substance of the Virgin Mary his mother". Cranmer was certainly orthodox about *that*! Even if Mr. Timms holds (and I hope he does not) that the body and blood of Christ *as an objective reality* pre-existed

[38] Gardiner, *An Explication and Assertion &c., ap.* Cranmer, *Answer*, 74. *Ed. cit.*, p. 74.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Blessed Mary by many centuries, Cranmer quite certainly was not prepared to loop the theological loop in that spectacular fashion. What he says (and means) is that under the old law they ate "*in promise*" of something which they believed would one day exist as an "objective reality" in this world; under the new law they eat "in remembrance" of something which they believe had once upon a time existed as an "objective reality" in this world. But there is no question in either case of actually *receiving* that "objective reality outside the worshipper" in any form, physical or spiritual. Cranmer himself insists that the body and blood of Christ are related to the sacrament of the new law precisely as they were to the sacrament of the old law, *before they so much as existed objectively*. By "spiritually present" here he means in both cases "imaginarily" or "mentally conceived".

Mr. Timms is thinking of Cranmer rather as though he had been a late nineteenth-century Dean of the Arches trying to be broad-minded about the Eucharist. But Cranmer was a man of the high Renaissance period, with all its deliberate "subjectivism", which sought so intently to segregate what was present in the forefront of consciousness as *words* as the only significant element in human life. "Faith" for him means the *mental* acknowledgement that the body and blood of Christ will one day exist, or has existed at one time, as an objective reality in this world; together with an intense emotional trust that by the offering of them objectively to God the Father during a particular three hours of time on Calvary my sins will be remitted (if I happen to live under the old law) or have been remitted (if I happen to live under the new law). This purely mental exercise, not the reception of any sacrament, constitutes "spiritual feeding on Christ". "Then is his body eaten when we believe that he was slain for us". I think that those who will read again the passages I have cited from Zwingli's *Expositio Fidei Christianae* and his *Epistola de Coena Dominica* on pages 160 *n.*, 161, and then the passages from Cranmer's *Defence*, *Answer* and *Explication* on pages 164 *sq.*, will agree that that is the foundation of their thought about the Eucharist, and that the notion is identical in both writers.

It is true that from time to time the believers on stated occasions partake communally of the flesh of a lamb (or of manna) or of bread and wine, in token that they have this "faith". But it is a sheer misrepresentation of Cranmer's carefully phrased statements, repeated again and again, to suggest that he supposed that by the Christian sacrament or by participation in it, any closer contact with the divine humanity as an "objective reality" is conveyed to the communicant, than was conveyed to the partaker of the paschal lamb or the manna before that divine humanity first began to be in the womb of Mary. This is merely the "sacramental feeding" on bread and wine, which may occasionally accompany the "spiritual feeding", but which is sharply distinguished from it. It is in no sense whatever a *necessary* accompaniment. Note, for instance, the parallel in *Defence,* iv, 2, already quoted (page 165): "*As* the devil is the food of the wicked . . . *so* is Christ the very food of all them that be lively members of his body . . ." There is no diabolical sacrament, but the "nourishment" is parallel and equally effectual in both cases. "This is the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, the *feeding* whereof is the *feeling* how he eateth and drinketh Christ". The "eating" and "drinking" are pure metaphor, not a sacramental doctrine at all.

Mr. Timms has, in fact, misunderstood what Cranmer means by "spiritually". He points out quite rightly that Cranmer takes "real" as the equivalent of "physical" or "material". But he omits to note that Cranmer occasionally equates "spiritual" with "figurative". He means by "spiritual" that which is "abstract" or "only to be grasped by the mind". Hence, for instance, his indignation with Gardiner for attributing "unto Christ none other presence in heaven but spiritual", whereas the ascended body of Christ is "real" in heaven.[40] It is admittedly a peculiar terminology.

[40] *Answer, ed. cit.,* p. 141. Gardiner's point, which Cranmer did not directly answer, is that Christ's presence in heaven is "real and corporal" as well as "spiritual", and therefore the terms are not necessarily opposed.

But it is that which Zwingli uses in all his controversies, with Luther, with Eccius and with the authors of the Swabian *Syngramma.* And it is also Cranmer's, and through him has permanently affected some of the Anglican formularies.

One might continue at length to discuss many such parallels between Cranmer's teaching and that of the other Zwinglians of his day. Cranmer's restriction of the content of the eucharistic sacrifice solely to " praises and thanksgivings " and the offering of ourselves, is precisely Zwingli's own statement of its content. His distinction of sacrifices in general into " expiatory " and " gratulatory " is Zwingli's distinction, too. His distinction between " spiritual eating ", " spiritual and sacramental eating ", and " sacramental eating only ", and a fourth kind of eating " combined of sacramental and corporal " is taken over as it stands from Zwingli. So is his analogy between the presence of Christ in Baptism with his presence in the Eucharist, which seems to Mr. Timms so clear a proof of Cranmer's rejection of Zwinglianism. It was first expounded by Zwingli himself against Luther in his *Amica Exegesis,* and was used thenceforward by all Zwinglian publicists in a variety of ways against Lutherans and Receptionists alike.

Here I mention these things only *ne taceantur*; but I am content to let the demonstration of Cranmer's Zwinglianism rest for the moment upon the samples I have given of his detailed use of the stock Zwinglian arguments to prove the standard Zwinglian thesis, and turn to another aspect of the matter. We have been here considering solely the testimony of Cranmer himself in his own writings. There is also the external evidence to be considered. The testimony of Cranmer's enemies shall not be brought into the question. But what is the bearing of the evidence of Cranmer's friends?

(*To be concluded.*)

THE PERSIAN SAGE—II

By C. S. C. WILLIAMS

The second point is closely connected. Because Burkitt failed to see throughout the Demonstrations the traces of an early Syriac rule of faith at least, which formed the basis of all Aphraat's teaching, he was misled especially about the Christology of the Persian Sage. For Burkitt singled out one Demonstration only, the XVIIth, on Jesus Messiah, to prove his thesis. He took this Demonstration to be the long-drawn echo, as it were, of the Old Testament saying attributed to Christ in the Fourth Gospel, " I said ye are gods." According to Burkitt:

> This homily, like so many that Aphraates wrote, is directed against the Jews, who complained that Christians worshipped a man whom they (the Christians) called Son of God in defiance of God's own word, " I am God and there is none beside me " (1). Aphraates sets himself the task of defending the Christian practice, even if he should concede to the Jews that Jesus Whom the Christians call God was only a man (2). For the name of divinity has been given to just men, as for instance to Moses, who was made a god, not to Pharaoh only, but also to Aaron (3). And though the Jews say that God has no son, yet He called Israel His First-born and Solomon His Son. David also says of them: " I have said, Ye are Gods and sons of the Highest all of you." God gives the most exalted titles to whom He will: He called impious Nebuchadnezzar " King of Kings." For man was formed by Him in His own image for him to be a temple for Him to dwell in and therefore He gives to man honours which He denies to the sun and moon and host of heaven. Man of all creatures was first conceived in God's mind though he was not placed in the world till it was ready for him (7). Why should we not worship Jesus, through Whom we know God, Jesus Who turned away our mind from vain superstitions and taught us to adore

the One God, our Father and Maker, and to serve Him ? Is it not better to do this than to worship the kings and emperors of this world who not only are apostates themselves but (who) drive others also to apostasy ? (8). Our Messiah was spoken of in the prophets even to the details of the Crucifixion (9, 10). We therefore will continue to worship before the majesty of His Father, Who has turned our worship unto Him. We call Him God, like Moses; First-born and Son, like Israel; Jesus, like Joshua, the son of Nun: Priest, like Aaron: King, like David: the great Prophet, like all the prophets; Shepherd, like the Shepherd, who tended and ruled Israel. And us, adds Aphraates, has He called sons, making us His brothers and we have become His friends. (11, 12).

Burkitt's comment on this Demonstration is as follows: " It is surely most surprising and instructive to meet with work animated by this spirit in the middle of the fourth century. It is not exactly what we are accustomed to read in the Fathers, but it follows too closely the lines of our Lord's answer to the Jews for us to brand it as unorthodox . . . Aphraates shows that it was possible to hold the Christian position with different watchwords from those which the Church borrowed from her refractory sons Tertullian and Origen."

Burkitt's comment is rather misleading for two reasons. Aphraat was certainly not an Adoptionist; if we turn to Dem. xxiii we read that Christ is of the same Being (*ituta*) as the Father, this word being equivalent to οὐσία .[5] Dem. xxiii, 52 runs, " He (God) Who has sent Thee (Christ) to us, separating Thee from His Being." It has already been noted that to Aphraat Christ was Son of God and God (Dem. vi, 9) and King Son of the King (Dem. vi, 10). He is the Word and Speech of God (Meltha and Memra, i, 10); here Aphraat was arguing from the first sentence of the Diatessaron, viz., John i, 1, " In the beginning was the Word." Christ partakes with the Father in that divinity which he calls the *'kyana,* " nature " of God and Christ came to share our *'kyana;* in this passage, Dem. vi, 10,

[5] Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius,* appendix.

Aphraat was thinking of Philip. ii, 7ff. Aphraat taught that the Father sent Christ to conquer the wicked one and to pour scorn on him and his host, Dem. xxiii, 49. So although there may be some doubt whether the so-called reconstructed Creed of Aphraat should contain the word "Creator" or "Son" with reference to Christ, yet if Burkitt had been able to ask Aphraat the question, "Is Christ to you a creature or the Creator?" there is little doubt that the reply would have been "The Creator who has bridged the gulf between Himself and His creatures."

The second reason why Burkitt's comment on Aphraat's Christology may be considered to be misleading is that Burkitt does not stress sufficiently that Dem. xvii was simply an *argumentum ad hominem* or *argumentum ad Iudaeos* and that to pick out that Demonstration to illustrate Aphraat's faith in Jesus is uncritical. For the Persian Sage was concerned in Dem. xvii to show his friend that the Jewish arguments against Christian faith in Christ can be met on exactly the same ground as that on which the Jews themselves stood, viz., the Peshitta version of the Old Testament, itself the work of Jews or Jewish-Christians and the version commonly read by both Jews and Christians in Mesopotamia. Settlements of Jews there are believed to date back to the time of the captivity itself. Aphraat must have been well aware of the influence of the Jewish school of R. Jehuda at Nisibis, of Abba Arikha (Rab)'s school at Sura as well as of R. Simlai's at Nehardea until Nehardea was destroyed by Odenatus of Palmyra in 260; three years before its destruction, Mar Samuel died; he was the great leader of the school at Nehardea and had laid it down for the Jews that the civil law of the government was as valid for themselves as the Jewish law; he thereby made it possible for the Jews to bend beneath the yoke of Zoroastrianism in a way impossible for the Christians to follow. Rabba (299-352) was a contemporary of Aphraat at Machuza and he exercised a considerable influence even upon the Queen Mother, Ephra Hormiz. Aphraat himself met and argued with Jews; more than once he refers to a "Jewish sage" with whom he talked. On one occasion a Jewish sage asked him how he

could be a Christian if his God allowed the Christian people to be tortured and persecuted; this was exactly the question asked by the Japanese torturers of Bishop J. L. Wilson, of Singapore, recently. Aphraat could reply with a *Tu Quoque* argument based on Jewish history. Yet though he knew that the Jews were bitterly hostile to the Christians and that Jewish-Christians had every incentive offered to them to relapse into Judaism, Aphraat remained remarkably free from rancour. A recent pro-Jewish writer, James Parkes, who has traced the history of anti-Semitism down the centuries commends Aphraat for this quality; "He gives the impression", he says, "of an honest shepherd doing his best to defend his flock against the dangers presented by the presence of many Jews among them; and on the whole speaks without bitterness. . . He is by no means ignorant of Rabbinical Judaism. He can quote to the Jews their own interpretations. . . He has evidently to deal not only with the attacks of Jews upon Christian doctrine but also with the attractive power of Judaism over his own flock. . . He replies with unusual calm and weight and with an absence of invective." If, then, we picture Aphraat living in this strongly Jewish environment and trying to meet intellectual Jews upon their own ground as well as thinking along the lines natural to a convert whose spiritual ancestry may be traced to the Jewish-Christianity of Edessa, we can understand why Dem. xvii provides the kind of argument that it does. Recently a Christian writer, Dr. Lukyn Williams, who has also traced the history of anti-Jewish propaganda in the Church, has written of this Demonstration: "Observe the trend of Aphraates' arguments. He is not arguing on the mere statements of tradition, not even on the mere words of Scripture. He is trying to go to the root of the matter—that Jesus by His life and actions reveals to us God so fully that He may be called God Himself, with much fuller right than any to whom we give the name or almost any equivalent title. . . Perhaps the argument does not go as far as we should like and leaves room for the supposition that Jesus is not, after all, the Incarnation of the very and eternal Deity. But it forms a sound foundation on which to build this higher truth."

The third point, which needs only brief mention, is Aphraat's doctrine of the Spirit. Burkitt seized on the fact that in Semitic languages there is no neuter and Ruach in Hebrew, Rucha in Syriac, is feminine. John xiv, 26, for example, in the old Syriac version means literally, "The Spirit, the Paraclete, she shall teach you everything." As Burkitt says, Aphraat in one of his doxologies ascribes "glory and honour to the Father and to His Son and to His Spirit, the living and holy" where the words for "living" and "holy" are feminine. Burkitt goes on to discuss Dem. xviii, 10, where Aphraat says that a man must cleave to God as his Father and to the Holy Spirit as his Mother; speaking as a celibate to celibates, Aphraat speaks as though the married man forsakes such a Father and Mother in order to cleave to his wife. For here as elsewhere in the Demonstrations we must allow for Aphraat's insistence upon the recognition of Christian celibacy in the face of denunciations against asceticism such as were made not only by the Persians but also by the Jewish Rab and Mar Samuel. The point, however, must be made that Aphraat speaks elsewhere of the Spirit of Holiness, or Holy Spirit, in terms which would not have surprised the theologians of a later age and to none of these passages in Aphraat's works does Burkitt refer. For the Holy Spirit, according to Aphraat, is the temple of the faithful and dwells in them by grace, Dem. vi, 14, 15. The Holy Spirit hovers over the waters of Baptism and the baptized clothe themselves with the Spirit as with a garment, vi, 14.

Aphraat can quote Ephesians iv, 4-6, to show that there is one God, one Christ, one Spirit, and yet, as in the doxology already quoted, honour is due to all three. There is one other rather striking feature in Aphraat's thought of the Spirit and the individual, to which Burkitt does not refer. Just as in contemporary Rabbinic teaching, so in Aphraat's, man's soul and body are regarded as forming a complete unity; but his spirit is the Spirit given to a convert at Baptism and will return to heaven when he dies; the Christian will be buried with his natural soul that every living person possesses. That natural soul will sleep a sleep troubled or restful as the man has lived

a good or evil life and otherwise without feeling. But the Spirit given in Baptism will intercede for the man before God and at the Resurrection will return to the body, so that man, his body, soul and spirit, will stand entire and whole before God for judgement. The doctrine of the "sleep of the soul" became, of course, unorthodox in later ages but the whole doctrine gives us a glimpse of the importance attached by Aphraat to the gift of the Spirit conferred at Baptism.

The next point also will be touched upon briefly. Burkitt does not discuss Aphraat's doctrine of the Church. So far as Aphraat discusses the Church at all, the Church is made up of men of all nations and has become the heir of the promises of the old covenant. Most of Aphraat's 1,056 quotations from the Old Testament rest on this belief. He would have approved entirely of the remark made by the late Professor Goudge that we, the Christian Church, can claim the family portraits of the Old Testament patriarchs as our possession. At the same time, to Aphraat St. Peter was the foundation of the building of the Church and the faithful witness placed among the nations (Dem. vii, 15 and xi, 12). But Dom Parisot makes a strange mistake, repeated by Nau, when he tells us that Aphraat called St. Peter the "prince of shepherds" in Dem. x, 4. For the reference there is clearly to Christ as the head or prince of shepherds, not to St. Peter at all. Besides recognizing St. Peter as the foundation of the Church, Aphraat calls St. James and St. John its strongest pillars (Dem. xxiii, 12). He mentions the three Orders of bishops, priests and deacons quite incidentally in the xivth Demonstration addressed to those of Seleucia-Ctesiphon but he throws no light on their earlier history in his country.

Nor does Burkitt say much about the doctrine of the Eucharist in Aphraat, though he would have said more if he had found it unorthodox and therefore not, to Burkitt, commonplace. To quote Burkitt's words: "Much of the teaching which we find in Aphraates about the sacraments is just what might have been expected from a leading ecclesiastic of the fourth century. . . With regard to the Lord's Supper

Aphraates tells us that in the Eucharist the faithful partake of the Body and Blood of Christ. It must be taken fasting and the fast must be such as was once for all prescribed by Isaiah, 'for always is fasting from evil things better than fasting from bread and water.' (Dem. iii, 8). 'For when a man will fast from all that is abominable and will take the Body and Blood of the Messiah, let him take heed to his mouth whereby the King's Son doth enter in. Thou hast no right, O man, through that same mouth to give out unclean words' (*ibid.* i.). . . In the Discourse on the Passover he says (xii, 6, 7) that our Lord gave His Body and Blood to the disciples at the Last Supper. . . So," comments Burkitt, "Christ both celebrates the Jewish Passover with His disciples and is yet Himself the Paschal Lamb." As Burkitt says rightly: "There can be no doubt that Aphraat teaches that Jesus Christ is really present in the consecrated elements." To this one need only add that Dem. xii, 6 is most unusual in recording the actual words of the Institution, which were taken probably from the liturgy of his day: "After Judas departed from them, He took bread and blessed it and gave it to His disciples and said to them, This is my Body, take and eat of it all of you. Also over the wine He thus blessed it and said to them,This is my Blood, the new covenant which for many is shed for remission of sins. Do likewise for my commemoration when you shall be gathered together." The phrase, "This is my Blood, the new covenant" not "of the new covenant" is the Tatianic reading found also in the Armenian version of Aphraat.

Reception of the Elements followed Confirmation or the "imposition of the sign", which was given with Baptism (Dem. xii, 13), oil being used for the *traditio signi* (xxiii, 3). Baptism was usually conferred on adults on Passover night, not Passover Eve, the triple formula of St. Matthew xxviii, 19 being used, as according to the Didache. Baptism meant regeneration (Dem. vi, 14) and had been instituted by Christ when he washed his disciples' feet (Dem. xii, 10). It conferred cleanness from sin (Dem. iv, 19) and was the "sign of life" (Dem. xxiii, 63), the body and soul being preserved by this

Spirit on Judgement Day. (Dem. vi, 14). Burkitt alludes briefly to some of these points in the baptismal teaching of Aphraat. He adds: "All this is normal and regular, almost commonplace." Then Burkitt goes on to drop his bombshell: "In Aphraates", he says, "Baptism is not the common seal of every Christian's faith but a privilege reserved for celibates." Burkitt thought that Aphraat believed that if men wished to marry, they could do so but if they did they could not "volunteer for the sacramental life" to use Burkitt's odd phrase. To reach this conclusion Burkitt analysed Dem. vii *De Paenitentibus*. In the Discourse on Penitents, after reciting the story of Gideon, who pre-figured the mystery of Baptism when by the trial of water he picked out his three hundred from ten thousand men, and after quoting our Lord's words that many are called but few chosen, Aphraates goes on to say (20): "Wherefore thus should the trumpeters, the heralds of the Church, cry and warn all the Society of God before the Baptism, them I say that have offered themselves for virginity and for holiness, youths and maidens holy, them shall the heralds warn. And they shall say, 'He whose heart is set to the state of matrimony, let him marry before baptism, lest he fall in the spiritual contest and be killed. And he that feareth this part of the struggle, let him turn back lest he break his brother's heart like his own. He also that loveth his possessions, let him turn back from the army lest when the battle shall wax too fierce for him, he remember his property and turn back and he that turneth back there is covered with disgrace. He that hath not offered himself and hath not yet put on his armour, if he turn back he is not blamed; but everyone that offereth himself and putteth on his armour, if he turn back from the contest becometh a laughing-stock.'" From this passage Burkitt argued that Aphraat recognized only two grades in the Christian ranks, the baptized celibate (from whose ranks also the clergy were drawn) and the unbaptized penitent. Burkitt therefore took Dem. vi closely with Dem vii, vi being on the subject of B'nai Q'yama or Sons of the Covenant and vii being about Penitents. In support of his theory Burkitt went

on to argue from the absence of any reference to the sacrament of Matrimony, in the Demonstrations, that the Church in Mesopotamia then did not recognize marriage to be a sacrament and did not give married couples any service or blessing at all upon their wedding.

Burkitt, therefore, has raised three questions: (1) Were the B'nai Q'yama or Sons of the Covenant the whole of the baptized Churchmen in Mesopotamia ? (2) Were the persons referred to in Dem. vii (penitents) all catechumens ? (3) Did Aphraates and his Church regard marriage much as Marcionites did with abhorrence? Burkitt would have answered "Yes" to each question but in each case subsequent research has shown that the answer should be "No".

(1) The B'nai Q'yama were not the whole of the baptized. They were a part of them, though a part with which Aphraat was very concerned. Other baptized Churchmen who did not reach their status were sons of the faith or, as we should say, "the faithful". In her article in *J.T.S.* 36, Mother Mary Maude, C.S.M., after an extensive study of the phrase "B'nai Q'yama" as it occurs down to the seventh century Isaac of Nineveh, concluded that the Sons of the Covenant and their female counterpart, the Daughters of the Covenant, were not monks and nuns living in monasteries but ascetics originally of pre-monastic days and were found elsewhere also than among the Syriac speaking Christians. "In the first fervour of their ideals", she says, "the ascetics and virgins were wont to live together in the same house, partly for the sake of the woman who in those days needed the protection of someone answering to a husband or father, and partly for the convenience of the man, who needed the service of the woman in household duties. Such an arrangement was obviously open to objection and criticism and very soon bred scandals. Bishops fulminated and councils legislated, cf. Canon xix of the Council of Ancyra of A.D. 314, ". . . We prohibit women who are virgins from living with men as sisters"; one might also compare the 3rd Canon of the Council of Nicaea or even I Corinthians vii, 25 ff., which on one interpretation is the earliest reference to *virgines sub-*

introductae. Dem. vi, 4, " Therefore, my brethren, if any bar Q'yama or qadisha (continent) who loves the single (or solitary) life, yet desires that a woman, bound also herself by vows, should dwell with him, it would be better in that case for him to take (to wife) a woman openly . . . " In Syria apparently these ascetics continued to live in the world alongside coenobitic monks and nuns in their monasteries and nunneries when monasticism was introduced probably after Aphraat's time until even the seventh century.

(2) The persons referred to in Dem. vii were not catechumens, as Burkitt thought, but penitents, as a wider context than that on which Burkitt seized will show. As Dom Connolly pointed out, T'yabutha means " Penance " and not the catechumenate state and T'yabe are those who seek Penance. Dem. vii is in fact a remarkable account of Penance, equalled by nothing so far as I know in Greek or Latin Patristic literature of the first four centuries. Unfortunately this Demonstration was not among those which Gwynn translated for the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers' Library, and though an American called Hallock translated it for the J.S.O.R. in 1930, his translation seems based largely on the Latin translation by Parisot and is not so accurate as the German translation by Bert. The following attempt may illustrate the intense and direct style of Aphraat and his deep sincerity while at the same time it may show that Aphraat was dealing with penitents and not catechumens. It begins, (1) " Of all those that are born, who have put on a body, there is only one that is sinless, that is our Lord Jesus Christ ". References to St. John xvi, 33, Malachi ii, 6, II Cor. v, 21, and I Cor. ix, 24, follow. " Furthermore there is none other of the sons of Adam, who descending into the contest has not been smitten and beaten; for sin has reigned since Adam transgressed against the commandment; and out of the many that (sin) has beaten, out of the many (sin) has smitten, out of the many (sin) has slain, there was not one whom it has not destroyed until our Saviour came and took it and nailed it to his cross. And even when it was nailed to the cross, there was

its sting, and it pricks many till the end when its sting will be broken."

Then Aphraat proceeds to elaborate the metaphor of healing, which he may have derived from Origen's first Homily on Ps. xxxvii (*c.* 240?) (Migne P.G. 12) or from St. Cyprian's *De Lapsis,* 35, unless Aphraat developed the metaphor himself from such a passage as Ps. cxlvii, 3. "He healeth those that are broken in heart: and giveth medicine to heal their sickness." (P.B.). (2) "There is a medicine for every disease and when a skilful physician has found it, there is a cure. And for those that are wounded in our contest, there is the medicine of penitence, which they may apply to their wounds and be healed. O physicians, disciples of our wise Physician, take this remedy that by its means you may heal the wounds of the sick. For men in battle smitten by the hand of the foe, when they have found a skilful physician, allow him to care for their healing that he may heal their wounds. And when a physician has healed him who was smitten in battle, he receives gifts and honour from the king. So, beloved, he who toils in our contest and his enemy comes upon him and wounds him is fittingly given the medicine of penitence, when the repentance of the stricken man is great. For God does not reject the penitent". A reference to Ezekiel xxxiii, 11, follows.

(3) "For he who is wounded in battle is not ashamed to give himself into the hands of a skilful physician, because the battle has gone against him and he is smitten; and when he is cured, the king does not reject him but reckons and counts him with his army. So a man whom Satan has wounded should not blush to confess his sin and to turn away from it and to ask for the medicine of repentance. For whosoever is ashamed to show his sore is taken with gangrene and the infection reaches the whole body; but the sore of him who is not ashamed is healed and he returns and again goes down to the contest. But he that has developed gangrene can no more be cured nor put on again the armour which he laid aside. So also to him whoever he is that is overcome in our contest this way of cure is open, when he shall say, 'I have sinned' and shall seek peni-

tence. But he that is ashamed cannot be healed, because he will not make known his wounds to the physician, who received two pence for which to cure all the wounded." (An odd piece of exegesis based on St. Luke x, 35, and St. John xx, 22 f.).

(4) "It is your duty, physicians, disciples of our glorious physician, not to withhold healing from him that has need of healing. Whosoever shows you his wound, give him the medicine of penitence; and whoever is ashamed to show his disease, exhort him not to conceal it from you, and when he has revealed it to you, do not publish it, lest on that account even the innocent be judged guilty by those antagonistic and hostile to us. The line of battle where the slain are fallen is considered by the foe to be the weakest of all. And when those that are smitten are found among them, those who have not been smitten bind up their wounds and there is no revealing of their condition to the enemy. But if it is made known to everyone about them, the whole army bears a bad name and also the king, the leader of the army, is angry with those who exposed his army and they are smitten with wounds worse than those of men smitten in battle."

(5) "But if those who have been smitten are not willing to show their wounds, the physicians are not liable to any blame for failing to heal those sick from wounds. And if the smitten desire to hide their wounds, they will not be able again to wear armour, because of the gangrene contracted in their bodies. And while there is gangrene in them and they attempt to wear armour when they go down to engage in conflict, their armour will become hot upon them and their wounds become corrupt and putrefied and they will be killed. And when the corpses of those that have concealed their wounds are found, the plan of hiding their wounds will be ridiculed and their corpses will not be committed to the grave and they will be considered foolish, evil, ignorant men."

(6) "But let him who has shown his wound and been healed be careful of the place that was healed, that he be not smitten there a second time. For when one is smitten a second time, it is difficult even for a skilful physician to cure (the wound)

which being on a (former) scar does not heal and even were it perfectly healed, he could not again put on armour but if he dared to do so he would engage in unequal combat."

(7) "You that have put on the arms of Christ, learn warlike discipline that you be not conquered and fall in battle. Our enemy is cunning and skilful but his arms are weaker than ours. Therefore we must meet him in battle and vigilant even in our sleep we must remove his arms for he is invisible to us when he sets upon us. So let us turn to Him (Christ) who sees him that He may remove him from us."

(8) "You again that are wounded I exhort that you be not ashamed to say 'We are fallen in the fight'. Receive the medicine that is without price, repent and live (or 'be saved') ere you be slain. And I bring to your mind, you physicians, what is written in the scriptures of our wise Physician, that He does not forbid penitence." (Scriptural references follow, mostly to the Old Testament, Gen. iii, 8, iv, 7, iv, 12; both sections 9 and 10 which follow are full of references to Jerem. iii, 10, 22, 12, xxv, 3, iii, 7, 10, 1; Deut. xxiv, 4; Ezek. xxiii, 18, iii, 17-21, xxxiii, 7-9.)

(11) "Hearken again also, you who hold the keys of the gates of heaven and open the gates to penitents, believe what the blessed Apostle has said" (references to Gal. vi, 1, and I Cor. ix, 27, follow). "He who from among you is burdened with sin, is not to be held by you to be an enemy; but counsel and admonish him as a brother; for if you separate him from you, he will be struck through by Satan." (References to Rom. xv, 1, and Heb. xii, 13, follow.)

(12) "I say to you penitents also that you should not withhold from yourselves this art given for healing." (References to Prov. xxviii, 13, and St. Luke xv, 32, follow, and then sections 13-16, which are full of Biblical references also.) Section 17 strikes a new note, in being addressed presumably to Aphraat's friend directly:

(17) "I beseech thee, beloved, by the mercies of God, that because of what I have written to thee about God not rejecting the penitent, thou do not relax thy valour and become needful

of penitence. Penitence is given to those who need it. But take care lest penitence be necessary for thee. The hand is stretched out to sinners, the righteous seek it not. For alms are given to the poor and the rich have no need of them." (The rest of section 17 seems to argue (1) that though penitence is necessary for sinners, the Christian should live as though he would not need it, and (2) that if he does undergo it, he is never the same as if he had not, "He who breaks down a hedge built for him by toil, even though it be well (re-) built, it is called broken.")

(So we come at last to the Gideon parable which Burkitt quoted from section 18 f. as if it referred to catechumens; but the clue to the interpretation of the parable is that those who intended to lead an ascetic life after Baptism frequently entered on their vows at Baptism; Aphraat as a celibate addressing celibates is not concerned with those who failed to "make the grade" or reach the status of B'nai Q'yama and Burkitt overlooked the fact that Aphraat was not concerned with all those who must have remained simply "sons of the faith.")

The last section, 27, confirms the view that Aphraat has penitents not catchumens only in mind.

(27) "Receive the exhortation, beloved, which brings back the penitents and admonishes the righteous. This is a world of grace, and until it come to an end, room is found in it for penitence. The time approaches when grace will vanish and justice will reign; then there will be no more penitence. Now justice rests, for grace has prevailed in its strength. And when the time for justice has come, grace will be unwilling to receive penitents. For a limit is set, (viz.) departure (from this life), thenceforward penitence will no more be found. Read, beloved, learn and know and perceive that there is nobody who does not need penitence in greater or less degree; for many run in the race but the victor will receive the crown and every man his reward according to his work."

Finally, Burkitt was incorrect about Aphraat's conception of marriage in thinking that it debarred a Christian of Aphraat's time and country from Baptism or any sacrament. For in Dem.

xviii, 8, we see what Aphraat's attitude was and we can compare it with the view of his contemporary, St. Ephraim. Aphraat wrote, " Upon matrimony which was given to the world by God, we cast no slur, God forbid! For thus it is written, ' God saw all that He had made and lo! it was very good.' Nevertheless there are some things better than others. God created the heavens and the earth but the heavens are better than the earth; and He created matrimony and it is very good, but better than it is virginity." To St. Ephraim also celibacy was the royal road to heaven but he was not opposed to marriage nor even to second marriage after the death of a former partner.

Aphraat is a witness to a pre-Nicene form of the Catholic faith among Syriac-speaking Christians. That form did not survive; after his day Persian intolerance was followed by Nestorian heresy and that in turn by Islam. Yet his works survive and though it is hard to criticize Burkitt, especially for one who sat at his feet at Cambridge, it must be said that to describe Aphraat's faith in terms of a modern semi-sacramental form of Christianity is to be less than accurate.

THE COUNTRY PAROCHIAL SYSTEM

Some Counter-Reflections

By J. R. H. MOORMAN

"CHURCH and Countryside" is a subject so much discussed nowadays that it is important that we should know what we are talking about. For too long country parishes have been regarded merely as convenient places to which to relegate older men who have given the best years of their life to work in the towns. Fortunately there is now a feeling growing among responsible people that the country apostolate is a highly important part of the Church's work with its own problems and its own technique. Many town priests who, in the past, have gone to work in the country—often, but not always, late in life—have failed in their work and grown disheartened simply because they do not understand the limitations and the possibilities of parish life in the country.

The Rev. T. M. Parker, in the July-September issue of the *Church Quarterly Review,* has tried to give some guidance to those who are working on this problem, basing his considerations mainly on the teaching of history. With some of his statements no one, I think, could quarrel, but on some points he seems to me to be most misleading, and these are mainly matters of history.

He begins by stressing "the fact that stands out luminously from the pages of history" that "Christianity is in its origin an urban religion" (p. 196). He then goes on to show that in the Acts of the Apostles it is to the towns rather than to the villages that the apostles direct their steps. Of this there is no doubt. But is the "origin of Christianity" to be sought in the Acts? Surely it is in the Gospels, in the life and teaching of Christ, that the "origin of Christianity" is to be sought. And what "stands out luminously" from the pages of the

Gospels is that, except for one or two brief visits to Jerusalem, our Lord's ministry was almost entirely to the people of the small towns and villages of Galilee. Even if we did not know this from the Gospel narrative itself we should almost inevitably deduce it from Christ's teaching. Over and over again his parables and illustrations are drawn from country life, from the growing of crops, the care of stock, the everyday life of a community many of whose members were working farmers and all of whom were more or less connected with the soil.

Mr. Parker then goes on to say that "Rural Christianity is, in most parts of Europe, a younger, and therefore a less established thing, than its urban counterpart." He admits that "this is less true of England than of Southern Europe" but still regards it as substantially an accurate statement, and declares that Canterbury, London and York and "not the villages" are among the places where "the Faith first grew and flourished in our land." This gives rise to two points. Naturally we hear of "Canterbury, London and York" as important centres, just as they are to-day. But we also hear a good deal of Iona and Lindisfarne, of Glastonbury and Lastingham, of the preaching tours of St. Aidan in the North and St. Wilfrid in the South. In fact by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period the Church had so largely established itself in the villages and smaller towns that William the Conqueror had to move a number of episcopal sees to more important centres—Selsey to Chichester, Dorchester to Lincoln, Elmham to Thetford and then to Norwich. In the second place, although Canterbury, London and York sound imposing enough now, they were, in Saxon times, very small places, and bore little resemblance to the great cities of the Mediterranean area such as Rome, Corinth and Alexandria. History simply will not bear out the contention that the Church in England in early days was mainly confined to a few great cities while the country people remained largely pagan.

In the following paragraph Mr. Parker continues to press the distinction between town and country and declares that among countrymen "under the surface there still remain the

relics, and in some cases more than the relics, of the old gods and their worship." Personally I do not think that there is very much in this assertion, but even if it were true of the countryman it must equally be true of the townsman, at least in England. For, with the exception of London, the great English cities are of quite modern growth. The large numbers who now live in Manchester and Birmingham are there because their ancestors moved into the town during the Industrial Revolution when the population was increasing and there was not enough work in the country. Indeed many of them came in much more recent times, for the so-called "drift to the towns" was taking place right up to the outbreak of this last war. Now if we are to believe that in the mind of the English countryman there are still traces of some old ancestral religion then such vestiges must also linger in the minds of our urban populations unless a generation or two of life in Birmingham or some such place has destroyed them altogether.

Later Mr. Parker discusses the origin of the parochial system in the *Eigenkirchen* or "Private Churches" of the Dark Ages. Here he is historically on safer ground though I find his conclusions far from convincing. For example, I should consider it highly unlikely that the countryman's deference to the Squire in religious matters (if such a thing really counts for anything nowadays) is due to "folk memories of a state of things in which the local lord was virtually dictator of the religion of his estate." Nor should I accept the suggestion (on p. 202) that these same "folk memories" make the countryman less interested in diocesan affairs than the townsman. Indeed my experience is just the opposite of this. The countryman is naturally interested in land and ownership and boundaries, and if the diocesan system is explained to him he can become just as much interested in the limits of the bishop's jurisdiction as he is in the boundaries of his own parish. Moreover "county loyalty" is often very strong among countrymen, and since, in many cases, a diocese is coterminous with one or more counties, the sense of diocesan membership is easily encouraged. A Sussex farmer will feel a far stronger sense of

loyalty to the diocese of Chichester (which means the same thing as his own county) than a millworker in Keighley will feel towards the diocese of Bradford.

To sum up, it seems to me that Mr. Parker's article is based on two misconceptions: one, that Christianity is in origin an urban religion and is therefore "bound to be to some degree distorted in one way or another when it spreads to the countryside"; the other that the countryman is quite different from the townsman and is still partly under the influence of "folk memories" from which the townsman is free. I cannot believe that either of these assumptions is true, and, that being so, it would appear that most of Mr. Parker's conclusions about the "Country Parochial System" are unsound. The real difference between town and country is not that the inhabitants are so different but that they are living under such different conditions. As far as Church life is concerned the difference between country and town is the difference between a parish and a congregation. In a town a parish priest has his boundaries like anyone else, but he is in fact ministering to a congregation who come to that particular church because they like it. Meanwhile he will nominally have the cure of souls of many thousands of persons whom he will never meet and cannot possibly know or influence. In the country the priest serves a parish and knows every man, woman and child in it, and can minister to them.

The problem in the Church to-day is not that an urban religion has been distorted in being adapted to the countryside, but that a rural unit of ecclesiastical jurisdiction (the parish) has had to be very much distorted in attempting to adapt itself to the big towns. Given the right men I see no real obstacle in the way of building up a really fine country ministry, but how to find some method of dealing with the tens of thousands in the big towns is another matter altogether.

GOD'S FAVOURITE: OR THE PHILOSOPHICAL IMPORTANCE OF SANCTITY*

By R. G. NORBURN

THERE is much controversy these days as to the proper relation between philosophy and religion. Some hold that the relation should be a friendly one; others maintain that it is, and ought to be, distinctly cold, even hostile; whilst yet others think that there is bound to be an inevitable, but none-the-less stimulating tension between the two. Whatever the upshot, my opinion is that the discussion will only serve to confirm the common view that, whereas philosophy may be and can be a legitimate propaedeutic to religious faith, and whereas individual philosophers may hold that Theism is far more than a mere live possibility, yet there is a world of difference between philosophy and religion, if only for the simple reason that philosophy must ever be questioning its fundamental assumptions, whilst faith is the assurance of things hoped for. It is the aim of this paper, in the first place, to isolate, and then to analyse, one of the factors which helps to convert what is a mere philosophy of religion into the certitude of a living faith.

Accordingly, I shall begin by trying to describe a certain remarkable type of man, a task rendered difficult by his comparative rarity. Indeed, unless you have been fortunate enough to meet one of the kind, you are quite likely to think that I am indulging in a flight of imagination. Locke once defied anyone to try "to fancy any taste which had never affected his palate, or frame the idea of a scent he had never smelt"[1]; and I feel that I may possibly be inviting you to an equally impossible

* A paper read to the Philosophy Seminar, Manchester University, March 1946.

[1] Essay on The Human Understanding, 2 : 2 : 2.

task. Yet it is common knowledge that in the history of the human race notable examples of the type which I have in mind have from time to time arisen, have lived and died, and have left their mark. And my own experience leads me to be not unhopeful of your agreement that the type is by no means extinct in the present day, even though the examples personally known to us from among our contemporaries are scarcely so outstanding as the more famous ones of the past. But big fish are like little fish—only bigger; and it is not impossible for us to gain some fair idea of what the great ones of the past must have been like from an acquaintance with the lesser examples we ourselves have met with.

The attempt, I say, to bring the type clearly and distinctly into view is extremely difficult, and words seem very poor tools to do it with. Perhaps the only satisfactory way is that which St. Philip adopted, the direct method of "Come and see." But that course is quite out of the question at the moment. And, in any case, I could by no means feel perfectly confident that, should you come, you *would* see. For the annoying thing is that even when we are directly confronted by a living example, it may easily happen that recognition of it is inhibited by certain individual or private peculiarities.

With regard to the particular quality which is manifested by men of the type, it is easy to find a name. It is called holiness or sanctity. But what exactly to call the bearer of it is not so easy. I would call him a prophet, did I not wish to limit myself in this essay to a consideration of the man himself, whilst leaving his message on one side. Perhaps the simplest word is the best. I shall call him simply the holy person or (for short) the Saint.

In the literature and thought of the various national cultures, both ancient and modern, the quality of sanctity has been differently interpreted. For example, the idea of the Saint commonly held in oriental countries, both then and now, is that of the mystical and contemplative ascetic. For the ancient Greeks, perhaps we should say that the typical Saint was the sage. To the Hebrew, I am not quite sure whether the typical

Saint was a man after God's own heart, like David, a practical man who loved mercy, did justly and walked humbly with his God; or whether he was the prophet, like Moses, who, because he was pre-eminent among prophets, spoke with his God "as a man speaketh with his friend." As for the Anglo-Saxon of modern times, when he thinks of a Saint, he invariably thinks of one who evidences great powers of self-sacrifice and has achieved a high degree of moral virtue.

Taken as exhaustive, these various descriptions all fall short. As in any living organism, the whole is greater than the parts. The true holy man indeed manifests all of these particular excellences, but he is more than any of them, more than the sum of them. Moral virtue truly goes along with sanctity, but virtue is not the *same* as sanctity. For although the holy man is always good, the good man is not always holy. Again, the Saint is doubtless a sage of a kind, but not every wise man is a Saint; nor is the Saint's wisdom exactly the wisdom of the worldly-wise. Yet again, there are many ascetic, self-disciplined persons in whom we should look in vain for the specific quality of sanctity. And yet again, though the true Saint is always a contemplative, and usually (though not invariably) a man of prayer also, he is nevertheless not the kind who seeks to escape from the world. Rather is he active in the world, if not of it. Indeed the quality of his sanctity shines forth ever the more radiantly as he does battle with the powers of evil and snatches victory in the very moment of defeat and death. Sanctity embraces all these several qualities, but is exhausted by none. There is yet something more.

What is this something more? It is the peculiar and mysterious capacity of dynamic impressiveness which the character of the Saint manifests as a whole, so that others feeling its impact cannot but regard him with some degree of reverence and even of awe. This peculiar power works in certain recognizable ways.

In the first place, the Saint gives the undeniable impression that here is one who speaks with authority. The Saint is a man who is quite patently absorbed in the contemplation of a vision;

a seer whose insight is direct and at first hand. Whereas others may see "through a glass darkly", he sees face to face. His intuition is his own, and when he speaks of it, he knows what he is talking about. He speaks truth, and what is more, he *knows* that he speaks truth. His vision is always of something that matters, some ultimate and absolute constituent of reality, to which human adjustment is at once both supremely necessary and of incomparable benefit. He himself quite obviously, as one "in tune with the Infinite," has made the necessary adjustment, and lives on intimate, confident and even confidential terms with the object of his intuition; even though sometimes strangely enough that object may be conceived by him in a way which others would think highly impersonal. This, however, would not seem to be normal. Usually the object is thought of and described in personal or quasi-personal terms.

Secondly, the Saint makes such an impact upon us that we are brought up sharply with an inward sense of disquiet which ranges in intensity from a vague feeling of uneasiness that all is not well with us to a sense of positive alarm. According to the degree of his sanctity—for sanctity may have degrees of intensity—we become disturbed while in his presence by a sense of serious lack. We feel that there is something short in us which is yet somehow immensely valuable. Therefore (if indeed we do not reject him out of hand) we *court* his presence, and when he speaks, we listen with attention, if perchance we may learn his secret for ourselves, and fill up that of which he has made us feel bereft. The Saint, it is to be noticed, is never without his band of devoted disciples.

Thirdly, although his presence makes us feel uneasy with this sense of lack, his company is not such as to scare or repel us. On the contrary, there is about him a strange charm and fascination. We *reverence* his greatness; but we *love* his graciousness. For as some kind and simple benefactor, he draws near to us with a silent offer of help. As a stranger from a far country, he comes to us with the quiet invitation that, should we care to follow, he will show us where treasures are to be found above the price of rubies. And such is his calm confi-

dence, such is his single-minded purity, such is his unsought serenity and joy, that we cannot but feel instinctively that here is a man we can rely upon utterly as a man of his word.

Should we all try to be saints? The very question will help to clarify the issue. In the sense in which I am using the term the answer is plainly No. For the more saintly a man is, the more unselfconscious is he of his sanctity. Self-love is foreign to him. His absorbing interest is elsewhere; not here, but there. Therefore, to make sanctity a matter of direct universal obligation is to set men to a task which is doomed to failure at the outset by its very selfconsciousness.

But there is a deeper reason still. To say that all ought to be saints is like saying that all ought to be geniuses; which, surely, is absurd. For the genius is born, not self-made; he lives on the lonely heights apart from the rest of men. He may, and does, prescribe rules and laws for others to study. But others may not prescribe laws and rules to him. We cannot say beforehand what a man must do or be in order to qualify for genius. So far as we can see, there is no reason why this man rather than that should be chosen. We just have to accept his genius where and when it occurs. This means that according to his degree, the genius is unaccountable, extraordinary, arbitrary, inexplicable; or (as Kant succinctly put it) is "Nature's favourite." As such he is beyond our power to imitate.

In a similar way, the sanctity of the Saint lifts him above the rest of man and makes him different from the ordinary. As sacred is not profane, so he is not common. We might almost say that there is a difference in kind, were he not a man like the rest of us. But like some lofty and inaccessible height, he carries with him an air of distance and remoteness which reason may seek to scale, but vainly. Like the genius, there is about him, too, an element of arbitrariness; so that there would seem to be no reason why this man should be chosen rather than any other. The spirit bloweth where it listeth. We just have to accept him, even if he looks like a surd in our calculations. We cannot be like him, for the simple reason that between him and

us there is a gulf, even if the gulf is none of his own choosing.

I have already mentioned the fact that the recognition of sanctity is subjectively conditioned. But it is significant that, once recognized, it claims universal agreement. By this I mean that if I recognize it, and *provided that I am certain that I am making no mistake*, then I expect you to see it too. If at first you do not, then I should invite you to look again until you do. If even then you cannot see it, I should be driven to think that the innate faculty which is necessary in order to its recognition is lacking in you, is being inhibited, or has not yet been awakened. But I should have to be certain that I am making no mistake.

For it is quite possible to make mistakes in this matter. In any particular example, I may mistake for sanctity something which upon further inspection I may find to be really quite different. But this does not imply that sanctity itself is an illusion It only implies that the faculty by which it is recognized in particular examples is fallible, like other faculties. For example, the scientist may make mistakes about particular facts, just as the casuist may about particular duties, and the artist about particular works. But this only serves to confirm our general belief in the validity of science or ethics or aesthetics. The same holds good of sanctity. Objectively real, it is yet conditioned for its recognition by our individual powers of divination.

One last point remains. As sanctity may vary in relative intensity, so it may vary in relative permanence. It would seem that only in the greatest is sanctity a constant possession; the rest possess it somewhat intermittently, at some times, but not at others.

Now, if your patience has permitted it, you will have noticed that the words holy, saint, and sanctity have been much used, but nothing has been said about them in any positive way. Such as it is, my description of sanctity has been mainly by way of its psychological effects. But this is more or less inevitable from the nature of the case. I am convinced that sanctity is an independent quality which cannot be described in terms of any

other; any more than green can be described in terms of red. Moreover, another reason why no more positive result has been achieved so far is the fact that I have tried as much as possible to restrain my presuppositions from pre-judging the issue, apart of course from the general presupposition that the experience is not wholly illusory but is significant of *something*. Precisely of *what* it is significant, however, is a problem which cannot be decided until we have put the experience into the context of our general world-view as a whole. In this, of course, the matter before us is no exception. We cannot decide the validity of anything, neither hope to understand it in any positive way, until we have tested it by its coherence with the rest of our thinking.

Accordingly, it is high time to acknowledge that in my view, the Saint is the midwife of faith, the lodestone by which a philosopher whose thinking leads him so far as to suppose that Theism is at once both a theoretical possibility and a practical demand, may be converted into a man of religious assurance as well. I claim that the Saint himself is "the *locus* of revelation".[2] For by the wholeness and beauty of his personality, by the hidden source of his confidence and power, by his distance from the rest of us, by the hall-mark of truth and authenticity which his character manifests, he produces the overwhelming impression that he is just the sort of man we should expect to appear, if God really exists and were in truth the ultimate object with whom he lives on such intimate terms. The Saint, in my opinion, is the empirical verification and practical vindication of what the mere theoretical philosopher may only *think*, rewarding the hope of the believer with a sense of certitude which his philosophy, as such, must ever withhold.

It might go a long way towards vindicating this opinion if it could be shown to be explicable in terms of Kantian philosophy. For, in the writer's judgment, the Kantian system (when modified in the ways he suggested in an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1946, and so as not to rule out

[2] The phrase is Dr. Temple's. See *Nature, Man and God*, p. 318.

the possibility of revelation) is an admirable philosophical *praeparatio evangelica.* To this end, then, let us see whether that dark and difficult masterpiece of the philosophy of religion known as the *Critique of Judgment* can help us to elucidate those strange feelings and intimations to which contact with the possessor of sanctity gives rise.

II.

As everybody knows, even before Kant had come to the end of his (second) *Critique of Practical Reason,* he had become aware of what he called " a great gulf which separates the super-sensible from phenomena ". It was as though there were two different realms—one of facts and necessity; the other of values and freedom. The burning problem was "how to throw a bridge from one realm to the other ". Otherwise there would be an intolerable and even flagrant tension between the reason as theoretical and the reason as practical, so much so that the sensible world and the intelligible world, instead of being friends and co-adjutors, might even become rivals and competitors both seeking to outbid the other for the allegiance of men.

Kant's intention in the *Critique of Judgment* was to show how in man the two worlds come together. As a creature of the phenomenal world, man is conditioned by and like every-thing else. As a subject of the noumenal world, he is conscious of a categorical imperative by which he is bidden to pursue an end entirely and absolutely unconditioned; namely, obedience to the moral law. But the sphere in which he has to work out his eternal salvation is the world of here and now, for man belongs to both worlds. Indeed, it seems to the reflective judgment that the world of nature has been expressly designed in order that, in man and for man, it might subserve another immortal world, where men may live to enjoy the happiness which they have deserved by right of their moral achievements in this.

There are two aspects of the world of nature which arouse in us the " unavoidable " conviction that nature as a whole is no stranger to the ideal, but in a positive way conspires with us

in the achievement of our moral destiny. These two aspects are (a) the beauty and sublimity of natural objects and (b) the existence of individual teleological organisms.

As to the second of these, I cannot attempt here to outline the great argument by which Kant, whilst carefully avoiding the conceits of dogmatism, establishes his conclusion that our mental constitution is such that "we cannot otherwise think and make comprehensible the purposiveness which must lie at the bottom of our cognition of the internal possibility of many natural things, than by representing it and the world-in-general as the product of an intelligent cause, i.e. a God (§ 75). Nor can I pause to mention how Kant shows that the natural world, with its apparent unity and uniformity, seems to be purposive and pre-adapted both to satisfy our vital need to understand her, and also, by stimulating our rational intelligence, to promote thereby indirectly our moral growth.

Since, however, Kant's teaching on the other notable phenomenon—the beautiful and sublime—is highly germane to the subject of this essay, I may perhaps be allowed to consider it in greater detail.

The first thing which Kant has to say is to affirm a sharp distinction between beauty on the one hand, and goodness and truth on the other. When we judge an object beautiful our judgment is entirely disinterested. This does not mean that the object is of no interest; on the contrary, we *linger* over it because it is so profoundly interesting. But the mere cognition of the object is at the moment a matter of indifference. That is, we neither desire to define what it is in relation to other existences; nor to determine whether or not it is good for something else or useful to ourselves; nor to decide whether it is good in itself, or ought or ought not to exist. All we are concerned with is the immediate way in which we respond to it through our feelings. We simply enjoy it for what it is, and contemplate it with a self-detached delight.

Secondly, the æsthetic judgment is *a priori*. In other words, although the empirical object can make us aware of

beauty, the principle according to which it is judged cannot be derived from it. It is native to mind, an *a priori* principle.

Thirdly, it is universal. In claiming an object as in my judgment beautiful, my judgment is my own. Nobody can succeed in persuading me to see beauty when I cannot see it for myself. And yet the remarkable thing is that, though my judgment is a private and subjective affair, none the less I expect, nay, I demand that others agree with me—always provided I am sure I am making no mistake in the particular example before us. Appreciation of beauty is unlike mere personal likes and dislikes. If it were merely that, it would be simply a matter of *de gustibus non disputandum* and that would be that. But the fact that we *quarrel* about it shows that it is more than an affair of personal preference, and that there is something objective about it. If I feel myself right in my judgment, then I am moved to *blame* others if they do not agree or concur. I say they are lacking in taste, for I claim that my judgment *ought* to be one to which assent should be given as by a " universal voice ".

But in the fourth place, if as a matter of fact my judgment is disputed, if somebody else does not agree with me in this particular instance, there is no extrinsic reason by which I may convince him. I cannot say that the object is beautiful because it is pleasant, for that would be to equate the beautiful with the pleasant or agreeable. (Indeed, the truth is quite the reverse; the object gives pleasure because it is beautiful.) Nor may I subsume this particular under any objective universal standard (say) of perfection, as Plato did. " For then there would be no *specific* difference between the beautiful and the good " (§ 15). There is, in fact, no intellectual criterion or extrinsic standard whatever by which I may measure beauty in particular instances, for the æsthetic judgment is *sui generis*.

Yet plainly, " the judgment of taste must refer to *some* concept ", says Kant, " otherwise it could make absolutely no claim to be necessarily valid for everyone ". However elusive it seems, one cannot deny that there is an objective element or factor implicit in the æsthetic judgment. What is it, and where

is it to be found? Kant finds the answer in " the mere rational concept of the Supersensible "—a concept which is beyond the limits of the theoretical understanding, and therefore indefinite and indeterminate, but yet a concept which the mind is necessarily compelled to *think*. This indeterminate concept of the Supersensible refers to subject and object alike. For just as the æsthetic judgment assumes and presupposes a supersensible substrate of human nature (the noumenal self or soul), so also it must assume a supersensible substrate underlying outward nature itself (the thing-in-itself). And these two principles, Kant remarks, " may not be so heterogeneous, after all, as we imagine " (I Kr. Dialectic Bk. 2, Chap. I)—an interesting and fruitful suggestion which finds many a parallel in the *Critique of Judgment*. (E.g., Intro, §§ 2, 4, 5 and 77).

It appears, then, that since my satisfaction in the beautiful object is absolutely disinterested, since it does not depend on any private inclinations of my own, since I can find no special peculiarity which affects me alone as the cause of my satisfaction, then I must assume that what satisfies me is equally a ground of satisfaction to all men. Just as knowledge is capable of being communicated to all rational beings, so, too, is æsthetic satisfaction capable of being " universally communicable ".

On its subjective side, therefore, Kant holds that æsthetic satisfaction arises from a feeling of inward harmony between the factors necessary for knowledge in general; i.e., between the imagination by which the sense-manifold is intuited on the one hand, and the understanding which reduces it to order on the other. When the imagination and the understanding are in free play, there the mind is at rest, and the object which holds its interest is called beautiful. And the obvious conclusion is that, if this inward harmony is valid for my state of mind, I am entitled to assume that it is valid for all—always provided that no irrelevant consideration or extraneous charm (*pulchritudo adhaerens*) is holding up our agreement, and that we are both considering an object of beauty pure (*pulchritudo vaga*) (§ 16).

On its objective side, on the other hand, " Beauty is the form of the purposiveness of an object so far as this is per-

ceived without any representation of a purpose" (§ 17). In other words, whether we like it or not, if we want to make natural beauty intelligible to ourselves, we cannot avoid bringing in the teleological notion of purpose, however sparing the use of it we make thereafter by way of inference from purpose to purposer. Even in the scientific sphere, the bare notion of purpose is indispensable. There the understanding *a priori* prescribes *general* laws to phenomena; but *particular* laws have to be discovered empirically. There, as the mind proceeds in the scientific investigation of the various empirical objects of nature, it discovers with a sort of surprised delight that its own rules fit the facts and lay bare a systematic connexion underlying nature as a whole. It is as if the thing were designed. There seems to be a unity and harmony both between the objects of nature themselves and the human mind which seeks to know them. It *might* have been so different; for as far as our understanding goes, this unity and harmony would seem to be contingent and as if by a "lucky chance" favouring us. Yet it must be assumed as a necessary condition if we are to make sense of the world of nature as a whole. Moreover, the more we delve into the secrets of nature, the more we find the assumption justified. Hence there arises irresistibly the reflective judgment that the systematic unity and harmony which we discover in nature is *pre-established*; that nature is *pre-adapted* to our need to understand her, and seemingly made expressly to be intelligible.

In much the same way, in the æsthetic sphere where the judgment also is *a priori*, we rejoice to find that various particular objects in nature exist which fully satisfy our emotional need. They are clearly harmonious with, pre-adapted to, and purposive for, the mind which contemplates them. Again, it is as if the thing were designed. The human mind finds in these objects something akin to itself; a feeling which is often expressed by the statement that they seem to be "saying something". It *might* have been so different, so far as we can see. Such considerations create for our minds the irresistible hypothesis that *outward nature herself is an artist*, who, by her technique,

produces objects of beauty with a two-fold purpose; (a) to conform to the demands of our nature and to its principle of æsthetic judgment; and (b) to detach and elevate our minds "above the mere sensibility of pleasure received through sense" and thereby promote our moral growth.

Kant, of course, warns us with tiresome repetition that, however necessary the hypothesis is for our minds, we cannot dogmatically affirm that such a purpose really exists. We cannot "prove" it, and the attempt to do so would be to trespass beyond the strict limits set out by the Critical philosophy, and to confuse the reflective with the determinate judgment. Nevertheless, such is our constitution that *we cannot help but assume it to be true.* So long as we remember that our thinking is *human* thinking, "we can regard it as a favour which nature has felt for us that in addition to what is useful, it has so profusely dispensed beauty and charm; and we can, therefore, love it, as well as regard it with respect on account of its immensity, and feel ourselves ennobled by such regard, just as if nature had established and adorned its splendid theatre precisely with this in view" (§ 67).

So much, then, for the experience of beauty. As for the sublime, Kant holds that it is partly similar to the beautiful, partly different. Both agree in this, that they are equally judgments of reflection. Both please of themselves apart from any cognitive, utilitarian or moral interest. They lay claim only to a feeling of inward satisfaction. Both kinds of judgment are singular; and though they are personal judgments, nevertheless announce themselves as universally valid for everyone.

But along with these similarities, there go important differences. Let us quote Kant's own words: "The beautiful in nature is connected with the form of the object which consists in having boundaries. The sublime, on the other hand, is to be found in the form*less* object so far as in it or by occasion of it, *boundlessness* is represented, and yet its totality is also present to thought. Thus the beautiful seems to be regarded as the presentation of an indefinite concept of the understanding; the sublime as that of a like concept of Reason . . . ."

"But the inner, and most important distinction between the sublime and beautiful is certainly as follows. Natural beauty brings with it a purposiveness in its form by which the object seems to be, as it were, pre-adapted to our judgment, and thus constitutes in itself an object of satisfaction. On the other hand, that which excites in us, without any reasoning about it, but in the mere apprehension of it the feeling of the sublime, may appear as regards its form to violate purpose in respect of the judgment, to be unsuited to our representative faculty, and, as it were, to do violence to the imagination; and yet at the same time it is judged to be only the more sublime."

"Now from this we may see that in general we express ourselves incorrectly, if we call an *object of nature* sublime, although we can quite correctly call many objects in nature beautiful. For how can that be marked by an expression of approval, which is apprehended in itself as being a violation of purpose? All that we can say is that the object is fit for the presentation of a sublimity which can be found in the mind; for no sensible form can contain the sublime properly so-called. This concerns only the Ideas of Reason which, although no adequate presentation is possible for them, by this inadequacy that admits of sensible presentation are *aroused and summoned to the mind.* Thus the wide ocean, agitated by the storm, cannot be called sublime. Its aspect is horrible; and the mind must already be filled with manifold Ideas if it is to be determined by such an intuition to a feeling *itself* sublime, as it is incited to abandon sensibility and to busy itself with Ideas that involve higher purposiveness" (§ 23).

This quotation gives the quintessence of what Kant has to teach about the sublime. From it we learn three things:

1. That whereas the sense of the beautiful brings our imagination into harmony with our understanding, the sublime does them violence. There is at first a sense of pain rather than pleasure (§ 27). The object is too great for the imagination to grasp. The imagination is incapable of finding in the world of sense a measure great enough to serve as a standard. This forces the judging subject to think of a different standard,

namely, the supersensible Ideas compared with which everything else in the world is small. In doing this, it refers the imagination in its free play not to the understanding, but to the Reason.

2. That it is only by a "subreption" that we attribute sublimity to objects of nature. True sublimity is a feeling and not a property of an object. It resides in the mind, "in so far as we become conscious that we are superior to nature within, and therefore also to nature without" (§ 28). For this reason Kant holds "that the concept of the sublime is not nearly so important or rich in consequences as the concept of the beautiful . . . We must seek a ground external to ourselves for the beautiful of nature; but seek for the sublime merely in ourselves."

3. That the sublime, therefore, has the effect of making us aware of a heightened self-consciousness. However huge, however terrifying nature's aspect, she only thereby places before our eyes the superiority of our moral and spiritual worth. We feel ourselves raised above the world of sense. We are made alive to our supersensible destiny.

Kant added an important rider. In § 29 he says that as regards the judgment upon the sublime, we cannot promise ourselves so easily the universal agreement of others as we can do in the case of the beautiful. When we say that an object is beautiful, we demand that everybody else should agree, as a matter of course, providing they are really judging æsthetically. But in the case of the sublime it is different. Since the æsthetic judgment in that case refers the imagination to Reason as a faculty of Ideas, we may only expect agreement about the sublime on a certain subjective assumption. What we assume is the presence of *moral* feeling, and only on this condition do we attribute necessity to our judgment. We expect assent only from those who possess "a far greater *culture* as well of the æsthetical judgment as of the cognitive faculties which lie at its basis."

And there, I think, we must take leave of the *Critique of Judgment*. It was surely (we may add) with a considerable

amount of success that Kant was able to forge his three Critiques into a unity. This might be illustrated in various ways, but one will suffice. What to the *theoretical* reason were regulative ideas or working hypotheses (namely, the three Ideas of a transcendent God, an intelligible world, a unified self) were to the *practical* reason the very postulates of the moral life. They were also no less the necessary assumptions of the *reflective* judgment. What more (we ask) could *thinking* give us? Yet Kant over and over again repeated his warning that mere thinking, however coherent, cannot guarantee real existence. For that, some empirical element must be given us. In this contention Kant was right as against Hegel, who went too far in claiming that whatever is rational is more than merely possible, but is *ipso facto* real.

It is the consideration that mere coherence by itself is not enough, which prompts me to re-open the question of the Saint. For as I have already said, it seems to me justifiable to claim that the Saint, in his living actuality, himself stands *in lieu* of that empirical element without which Theism is, theoretically, but an ideal rational possibility, even though it should be an ideal, as Kant put it, "without a flaw."

III.

In the first part of this paper, it was maintained that the effect which the possessor of sanctity had upon the observer was to produce the more or less powerful impression that here was a man who had a secret, and who lived on intimate terms with a reality of ultimate importance and infinite capacity for good. We might put it in Professor Otto's striking way, and say that the Saint was a *numinous* person in whom there lay hidden *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*. Let us now try to clarify this experience further by examining it in the light of the previous discussion of æsthetic experience, as examined in the third Critique.

First, then, it would seem that sanctity is a matter for the reflective rather than for the determinate judgment. For we are faced with particular examples of sanctity manifested by

particular persons. Accordingly, in order to make these particulars intelligible, we are forced to look for "a universal guiding principle" under which they may be subsumed. But since we cannot hope to find such a principle in the world of sense, we have to look to the region of the supersensible for it.

Secondly, we are not concerned with the cognition of the object as such, but rather with the immediate effect which the object has upon us and with our response to it. Therefore, we are not interested in "proving" or determining the concept of sanctity by indicating its logical relations to other qualities or quantities; neither are we concerned to show its utilitarian or ethical values. Our attention is wholly given up to the way our feelings are stirred and our wills are challenged when confronted by an example. Incidentally, this has much to do with the reason why we are unable to give any specific logical reason for our judgment that any particular man is holy. All we can do towards that is to indicate what we ourselves see to be there, and hope that others will agree. In fact we are in exactly the same straits as when we are asked for a reason why we think a particular view of natural scenery is beautiful.

Thirdly, the judgment is *a priori*. That is, it arises in us on occasion of certain kinds of empirical experience given to us, though it is by no means derived from them.

Yet, in the fourth place, it feels justified in claiming universal agreement, even though it does not always by any means get it. This means that if I (for instance) am quite sure that I am making no mistake in recognizing a particular example of sanctity, then I feel compelled to say that there is something objective about it to which others *ought* to agree, even if they do not. Theoretically, it would seem, agreement should be universal; practically, it is not so. The reason for this, of course, is not far to seek. Of the sublime Kant said that universal agreement could not be expected in practice because that judgment presupposed a certain developed capacity for entertaining moral ideas. The judgment of the sacred is similar in that it, too, proceeds upon a pre-supposition. No doubt all men ought to recognize its presence when it is there.

In practice, however, it depends upon the possession of a certain developed capacity for entertaining *religious* ideas. But this raises a burning question which I must pass over for a moment until the next point is settled.

Like the experience of the sublime, the experience of the Saint is at first painful, or (if that is too strong a word) at least disturbing. We feel that we cannot bring him wholly under the normal categories by which we try to understand ordinary men. There is about him that which escapes definition, an element of arbitrariness, an unaccountable, incalculable *something*. He seems too great for logical comparisons. It is this inexplicable factor which rouses in us the sense of wonder. The understanding fails to harmonize with sense. The mind feels itself restless, moved and agitated in the presence of the holy person. Compelled in the case of sanctity no less than in the case of the beautiful and the sublime to seek for a reflective principle of explanation in the region of the supersensible, we find that, as in the case of the sublime, only the unconditioned Ideas are adequate enough to harmonize with the sense-experience. Thus the Saint, creating at first a disharmony between sense and understanding, ends by producing a harmony between sense and Reason. "That the mind be attuned to feel the sublime postulates a susceptibility of the mind for Ideas" is good Kantian doctrine (§ 29). We need to make only one small alteration, and for the word "sublime" read "sacred" to reach the same conclusion with regard to sanctity.

But now we have to settle a further point. As everybody knows, Kant held that the great rational Ideas were three in number; the self, the world and God. To which of the three does the experience of the Saint lead us? Moral experience leads us necessarily to assume the existence of a free unified self. Aesthetic experience, likewise, leads us to assume, as a necessity of human thinking, the existence of a world of nature which is herself creative of beauty. Can we complete the trilogy and assume that in the experience of sanctity we encounter the living God? It is tempting to draw this conclusion forthwith. But let us make haste slowly. It may be that the experience

of sanctity presupposes no more than that which is presupposed in the experience of the sublime; namely, the priority of spirit in the order of values.

Now there can be no doubt that the presence of the Saint has the effect upon us of producing a heightened self-consciousness, which is precisely the same effect which the sublime has upon us. But there is a significant difference. The sublime rouses and summons to the mind a consciousness of our spiritual *superiority* over mere nature. But the Saint gives us a sense of spiritual *inferiority* (which may, or may not, be linked with a feeling of moral inferiority as well). This sense of spiritual inferiority is a consequence of an awakened consciousness. Be it dimly or be it vividly, we are made to feel that we lack some perfection or excellence in which the Saint is pre-eminent. And just because we recognize that it *is* a perfection, we desire to share in its blessing. It is, of course, clear by now wherein the Saint's peculiar excellence lies. It lies in his enjoyment of harmonious integration and gracious personal relationship with the ultimate source and origin of our existence; with "that in which we live and move and have our being"; that is, with God.

If this deduction is correct, I am hopeful that the significance of those vague but deep feelings aroused in us by the Saint has now, with Kant's help, become clear, and that the opinion has been largely vindicated that sanctity is fully intelligible only under the presupposition that the Saint (to coin a phrase from Kant) is *God's favourite* whose special function is to awaken men to their spiritual defect, and to enkindle or call out their latent faith by the self-evidence of his own living witness to the reality of that Being who is at once the final goal and supreme satisfaction of the human quest. As Kant might have put it, we cannot but assume that he is sent by God and that he is purposive for, designed and pre-adapted to satisfy our religious need. He is to do this, as we have shown, simply by being what he is (and only by what he *says* in so far as his teaching is a reflection of what he *is*); so that, to those who are prepared to receive him and who freely say Yes to him, i.e., have

"faith" in him, he comes as one whose vocation and destiny is to be the sign of that which he symbolizes, the mediator of divinity, the vicarious agent of God. As such, he vindicates by his own living empirical existence, and certifies as true, that supreme Idea which Descartes declared to be innate in all men, and which Kant affirmed would—provided the postulates of the moral consciousness were to be relied upon—"perfect and crown the system of human cognition."

This, in conclusion, brings me back to the point which I passed over a moment ago. If the idea of sanctity, no less than the idea of revelation in general, is to be made intelligible at all, then it is essential for it to be approached with a mind for which Theism is not only a hope but also, at the very least, a live rational possibility. The Barthian theology of revelation, therefore, would seem to be an exaggeration. According to Barth, revelation is of the "wholly Other", and the human mind is so corrupted by human sin that it has nothing at all to contribute. We can be grateful for the emphasis which Barth places upon the notion of the "otherness" of the God who is revealed, as also for his insistence that faith waits upon revelation. But it is, in my opinion, a serious overstatement when it is affirmed that revelation is of a *wholly* Other. My contention has been that the rational idea of God must be at least potentially active in the human mind before any revelation can be given and accepted. Whether or not all men are born with the latent but indefinite idea of a Supreme Being, whether the idea of God arises from and fulfils our need to make life as a whole intelligible, whether it comes *viâ* tradition or by way of "natural theology", or whether it is a result of *testimonium internum Spiritus Sancti*—whatever be the means by which it is given, the Idea must be present in the human mind as a *conditio sine qua non*, before any revelation from God can authenticate itself to us. Revelation cannot fall like a stone out of the blue. If it is true, it can be no other than the divine response to a real human quest, even if that quest itself is evoked by the grace of God preventing us. The Barthian theology, of course, could not have sprung up if its subsoil had not been prepared beforehand by centuries of Christian tradition.

A MAJOR CHRISTOLOGICAL PROBLEM

By BERNARD LEEMING, S.J.

THERE are few problems more perplexing to theologians of all schools than that of the knowledge of the Incarnate Lord. Dr. Hodgson has gone so far as to say it is the major Christological problem of recent times, as the question of the relation between his two natures was at the time of Chalcedon. However that may be, perhaps the importance of the question, generally admitted, may excuse some reflections upon your review, in Vol. CXLIV, of Mr. Mascall's *Christ, the Christian and the Church*. Mr. Mascall would appear to have made some suggestions upon this problem more significant and pregnant than your reviewer, Canon Hood, may have led readers to suppose.

The problem is obvious: Christ's Godhead excludes ignorance; his manhood seems to demand it. The problem is strictly religious; for if Christ were really ignorant, how can we trust his message completely? Still more, if he were really ignorant, then can one say with real sincerity "He loved me and delivered himself for me"? Yet, on the other hand, if he were in his humanity omniscient, how could he be a real man? Progress in knowledge seems an essential of true human nature.

Mr. Mascall faces these problems most frankly, and indicates the lines along which he thinks a solution must lie. At risk of possible misrepresentation, I summarize my sense of his answer:

1. Accepting the fact that Christ was God, it is inconceivable that he should have been unaware of the fact; otherwise we should know more about him than he knew about himself, and in any case how could a man who was really divine be unaware that he was really such? Denial of Christ's real and human knowledge of his Godhead must lead inevitably to a denial of the Godhead itself, as all the arguments against the

Kenotic view demonstrate; but, in any case, is it possible to admit that Christ was ignorant of his own essential relation to God, as he must have been were he ever ignorant of the fact of his equality with the Father?

Granting, then, that Christ knew his own relation to the Father and was truly self-conscious of a Self which was the eternal Son of God, how could he obtain that knowledge? Not, surely, by information given by others; nor by reasoning from premises to conclusion, since that presupposes that God at one time did not know he was God; nor, finally, by faith, since faith is essentially obscure. He must, consequently, have known his Godhead by intuition; his self-consciousness must have been an immediate awareness of the very Being of God, since it was his very own Being. Hence, in Christ there must have been the immediate vision of God. As Hooker puts it, "the soul of Christ . . . saw in this life the face of God."

2. The difficulties against this assertion are obvious and multiple. To select only one, how could Christ suffer mental agony if he were all his life in full possession and enjoyment of the beatific vision? To ease these difficulties, Mr. Mascall advances several considerations.

To begin with, knowledge itself "is a far more elaborate and complicated faculty than Christologists have always realized." Not all knowledge is of the type which can be written on a blackboard; information and knowledge are not the same. Even in ordinary human beings, awareness of multiple different truths may be simultaneous; one may be knowing through the channels of sight, of hearing, of feeling, and by reasoning, all at the same time. It is the same Ego, though the kinds of knowledge are different; I am aware of myself as hearing and as seeing and as reasoning, without confusion of either the objects known or of the faculty or range of the soul acting. In the case of the God-man, our own experience may afford analogies to help understanding; but our own narrow experience must not limit our concept of what may be possible to him. As Mr. Mascall well says, we cannot imagine what it feels like to be God.

3. In the case of the God-man, may there not have been in his human soul something of the nature of a "stratification" of knowledge? May it not be, as Mr. Mascall puts it, "that quite apart from the experimental knowledge which he acquires by the normal use of intellect in conjunction with the senses, the Christ includes in himself, by infusion from the omniscience which his divine Person possesses through its real identity with the divine nature, the possession of everything that is in principle knowable to man, while the exercise of this knowledge is adjusted, with the most exact and exquisite accuracy, to the precise needs of every situation with which he is confronted"?

4. Mr. Mascall illustrates this conception by two examples: that of the mathematician whose knowledgee of abstruse mathematical principles is utterly incommunicable to his class; and that of the mystic who has "direct but obscure awareness of God", which is absolutely certain to himself, but cannot be made clear to others, and is a kind of knowledge which his own imagination and logic cannot fully grasp. These examples show that there is real knowledge which is incommunicable to others; and further, the example of the mystic would seem to show that there is knowledge fully personal which is incommunicable to certain ranges of the soul which possesses it. It is a knowledge which is not attained by sense or by discursive reasoning, and in consequence is in its nature independent of sense and of reasoning. Now Christ's intuition of God must surely have been such; it must have been in the purely spiritual order, independent of those ranges of the soul which are dependent upon drawing conclusions from premises and dependent upon accompanying use of the imagination. Awareness may be at different levels, or upon different strata, so to speak; and the levels do not necessarily interact, even though it be the same person who is conscious of his own activity at each of the different levels. Consequently, Christ's awareness, intuitive awareness, of God, would not have interfered with his ordinary acquirement of information by the senses, nor with his ordinary reasoning powers; his normal functioning of the mind can proceed as if this intuition of God were not there. His vision of God causes him no

emotional gladness; as the older theologians put it, there was no *redundantia* from the higher levels of the soul to take away pain and sorrow from the lower powers. That vision was in the purely spiritual order, as is the vision of God which the angels and disembodied spirits have; and that vision, so mysterious in itself, could not be contained in any mental images, much less in any sense images. Upon these principles, Christ as man was both capable of seeing God face to face, with all which that involves, and likewise of advancing in wisdom and grace through the normal workings of his human intellect and will.

Canon Hood thinks this suggestion more subtle than convincing, though he does commend a careful reading of Mr. Mascall's pages; and he emphasizes a difficulty which Mr. Mascall had frankly advanced, though not explicitly answered. Canon Hood cites Challoner, Avancini and the late Fr. Woodlock to the effect that the infant Jesus was gifted with supernormal, or, rather, superhuman foresight, quite incredible in an infant. Fr. Woodlock is cited as saying of the child in the crib: "His omniscience and his prophetic soul looked out from Bethlehem to every crib which loving hands would construct in the centuries to come. He saw each Bambino", etc. At first sight, such suggestions raise the bogey of Docetism: Christ, while appearing an infant, mentally was not an infant; his babyhood was only sham, not reality. To this, of course, one might easily retort that painters depict the infant Jesus holding the orb of the world in his tiny hand, and no one feels affronted; nor does anyone hasten to explain that it is not in his human, but in his divine nature that he upholds the world. It is a pictorial way, it may be the only possible pictorial way, of expressing the divinity of the Child. Artists must be allowed some scope, so why demand too great meticulousness from devout writers and preachers? Christ was God, even when he was a baby.

However, Mr. Mascall's principles more effectively exorcise the bogey. Once admit a "stratification" of knowledge, and the difficulty vanishes. No normal cerebration of the infant

Christ enabled him to foresee the future; on the contrary all the ordinary processes of human thinking were such as an infant state supposes: his imagination contained only those images which his infantile experiences provided, and his reasoning powers, as dependent upon development of the nervous system and brain, remained as inoperative as those of any ordinary child. Nevertheless, the spiritual and non-organic ranges of his soul had an awareness like that of the blessed in heaven, in which he saw all things in seeing God; and so saw even material things like cribs, but in a spiritual manner of seeing, as God sees material things, and as do the angels and the blessed. Such seeing, such knowledge, being beyond the emotions and the reasoning, would cause neither joy nor sorrow, and would not interfere in the slightest with his normal human life, save only when he drew upon this knowledge for the purposes of his mission, as in prophesy. Thus, truly Christ was " in all things like to us, sin excepted "; for his supernormal knowledge left him with all normal feelings and reasonings, as the agony in the garden makes manifest.

I hasten to add that I doubt if Mr. Mascall would agree entirely with this application of his principles; for he appears to think that there may have been a real development in Christ's possession of the beatific vision. In this he seems inconsistent, since the vision, being *ex hypothesi* not mediated by the human organism, must remain unaffected by organic development. However this may be, Mr. Mascall's suggestion of different ranges or strata of human knowledge seems to break an impasse which the problem had reached. Hitherto, in spite of Dr. Sanday, too many Christologists have seemed to accept the division of Christ's knowledge into divine knowledge and normally acquired human knowledge. Admit, with Mr. Mascall, the possibility of other levels of knowledge in a true human soul, and the door is thrown open.

A STOWE

An Epitome of the English Eighteenth Century

By E. I. WATKIN

THERE has recently come into my possession a little book which introduces the reader into the very heart of the culture of the English aristocracy in the eighteenth century. In brief compass, as it were in an epitome, it displays its virtues and vices, its charm and artificiality, its humanism and its blindness to religious and Christian values, its conservation in its secular aspect of the traditional culture, its barrenness, its lack of the life which while preserving innovates and improves. It is an illustrated guide to a famous eighteenth century mansion and grounds.

"Stowe a description of the magnificent House and Gardens of the Right Honourable Earl Temple Viscount and Baron Cobham . . . Embellished with a General Plan of the Gardens. Also a separate Plan of the House and of each Building with Perspective Views of the same. A new Edition . . . with the Description of the Inside of the House. Buckingham printed and sold by E. Seeley MDCCLXXVII."

The bookseller-publisher has appended an advertisement of the goods sold in his shop in Buckingham. The interest of this view of the principal shop in an eighteenth century county town is so great that it must excuse a preliminary digression. The reader may imagine the goods mentioned displayed behind its bow windows.

Mr. B. Seeley "sells Bibles and Common Prayer Books" also "Modern books in Divinity, History, Physic, Travels, Poetry & either in English or other Languages. And all new Books, Magazines and Pamphlets as they are published may be

had in a few days . . . and at the same Price as in London. Variety of Single Plays." There are "Stationary wares" and "Great variety of new patterns of Paper for Hanging of Rooms." "The true and genuine sorts of the following medicines." A list follows of nineteen. "And most other medicines of this kind." "As there are many counterfeit sorts of the above Medicines, every one should be careful what they buy and may always depend on having the best of every kind at this Place."

A list follows of nine named varieties of scent. "Variety of Smelling bottles, Scent boxes, Snuff boxes, Patch boxes. The true Essential Salt of Lemons" whose cleansing effects are enumerated. "Scowering Drops to take Spots out of Silks" and "The new invented Cakes for making Shining Liquid Blacking for Shoes. Hair Powder, Boxes and Puffs of various sorts. Almond Powder and Almond Paste. Silk Purses, Book Housewifes, Combs of all sorts either of Box, Ivory Horn or Tortoise-Shell. . . . Spectacles, Reading Glasses, Prospect Glasses and other Optical Instruments. . . . Mathematical Instruments. Walking Sticks, Riding Canes and Fishing Tackle. Violins, Flutes, Hautboys and other Musical Instruments. . . . Italian Strings and Spinnet Wire. Hautboy and Bassoon Reeds, Middleton's Black lead Pencils. Birmingham, Sheffield and Dutch Toys. With many other Articles too numerous to mention and not often to be met with in a Country Shop."

In addition to this Mr. Seeley ran "A Circulating Library of the most Entertaining Books that have been published for many Years past."

The prices of this guide to Stowe are given. Without plans or views 6d., with the plan of the Gardens 1 shilling. With the plans of the Gardens and House 1/6, with all the plans and views half bound 4 shillings. My own copy is one of these still in its half binding. "Ditto Bound and Gilt 5 shillings."

The publication of this guide conjoined with the fact that it could be bought in the village inn at Stowe proves that even if the brief description of the interior of the house was intended

only to satisfy curiosity the grounds at any rate were open to the public. This was, we believe, the general custom in the eighteenth century. It was reserved for the nineteenth to exclude the public. Thus the expense of laying out these estates was not purely selfish. The public enjoyed the result without as to-day the expulsion of families from their seats. In the form they had assumed when this guide was published the gardens at Stowe had been refashioned by Kent in the new style of landscape gardening. But this new landscape garden was a development of the older and more formal garden not as yet its abolition. The formal parterre was retained. "Opposite the South Front is a grand parterre where you have a distant view of many beautiful objects in the garden and a fine prospect over the country." Such a prospect from "the grand parterre" had been the principal effect sought by Le Notre at Versailles and Marly and by his successors of the French school of gardening. And from time to time the Guide invites attention to the prospect as a leading feature of the gardens. In truth both Le Notre and Kent in this combination of formal bedding and landscape prospects were intermediate between the earlier wholly formal garden and the complete landscape garden as developed in England. Shortly after this Guide was published Stowe was completely landscaped by "Capability" Brown.

Nor could anything have been more formal, more strictly classical, than the temples copied from Roman and Hellenistic models or the statues of British worthies or monarchs in Roman attire. "Opposite the north front of the House is the equestrian statue of King George I" with an inscription from the Georgics written of a statue of Augustus. If such a comparison seem ludicrous we must remember that this insignificant German princeling represented the final victory of the Whig aristocracy to whom the Temples belonged. And Anne's reign was, as we know, regarded as a new Augustan age. On the other hand the Ruins, the Hermitage and the Gothic Temple represented the fantastic, eclectic and romantic character of Rococo. One page illustrates the Gothic Temple and the Palladian Bridge, a superficial contrast which nevertheless harmonizes perfectly as the

polar expression of a style, in one aspect so classical, in another Romantic and "Gothic."

Not far from the entrance "you descend to artificial ruins of a temple of river gods covered with evergreens and adorned with statues of fauns, satyrs and river gods; a beautiful cascade of three sheets of waterfalls from a river into a large lake." This taste for ruins dated back to the very birth of the Baroque culture. It is already in the Hypnerotomachia Polyphili published by Aldus in 1499. And the cascade is a frequent feature of the Italian Baroque garden. Nearby is "the Shepherd's Cove designed by Kent," the pastoral tradition of Baroque. Kent also designed the Temple of Venus "a square building with circular arches and wings," it is indeed an imposing piece of architecture, "the inside adorned with paintings by Mr. Sleter taken from Spenser's Fairy Queen." "The panel in the ceiling is adorned with a naked Venus." On the frieze is the refrain from the Pervigilium Veniris erroneously ascribed to Catullus. Close to the temple is a statue of Queen Caroline "erected on four Ionic columns" and inscribed "Divae Carolinae," an address which no doubt would have been thought idolatrous if given to the Mother of God.

The counterpart to the Temple of Venus is a hermit's cell "formed of moss and roots of trees." "This is situated in a retired thicket and very artfully contrived in the same manner as shades in a picture or pauses in music." The building and this comment upon it reveal the insensibility of this world of eighteenth century fashion to Christian values. For that world the hermit, the ascetic is but a ludicrous foil to a pagan and epicurean wisdom. St. Augustine is imagined as the inhabitant hermit and three pieces of ribald Latin verse, imitating not unsuccessfully the style and rhythm of medieval Latin poetry, mock one of the greatest Christian teachers for his supposed terror of the fair sex. When the traditional culture had so far abdicated its religious soul, it was in mortal danger. It must, however, be added in fairness that the house contained a private chapel adorned with more pictures than one would have expected, including an altarpiece by Tintoretto and with carving by

Grinling Gibbons. Though Christianity had been thrust into the background the ruling aristocracy had no notion of dispensing with it altogether. If the religious root had been severed some connexion between culture and religion survived to the end.

There is a dog's tombstone in which the fact that "Signior Fido, an Italian of good extraction," was not a man but a greyhound, is concealed to the end. It is characteristic of the attitude of the enlightened nobility that the epitaph should say "He was no bigot. Tho' he doubted of none of the 39 Articles. And if to follow nature and respect the laws of society be philosophy he was a perfect philosopher." This comic epitaph of a pet dog sums up the philosophy of the enlightenment while unconsciously turning it into ridicule.

The Temple of Bacchus commanding a "beautiful prospect over the country" and "the inside adorned with the revels of Bacchus painted by Nollikins" is by Vanbrugh. Nelson's seat is another piece of classical architecture with a Doric portico. It housed paintings, with inscriptions copied from antique Roman monuments celebrating the Roman Empire. The suggestion no doubt is that its power has been inherited by the British. But who was Nelson? The shrine would have fitted the future hero. Such things make me distrust conclusions drawn from unsupported internal evidence. Were the building alone known and undated antiquaries would no doubt have decided that it must be of later date and commemorate the Admiral.

We now see a columned statue of George II. There follows a long English poem to celebrate a visit to Stowe made in 1768 by his daughter Princess Amelia. The statue of George is imagined to address the statue of his wife which delights in her daughter's glory. Apollo and his train sing "of royal Emil."

> The mother heard th' applauding Choir
> Her breast ecstatic transports fire
> As on the day her martial son
> Culloden's glorious triumph won.

Posterity has judged otherwise of Butcher Cumberland's exploits.

When lo upon the flowery green
Her darling Emily is seen.
What hand can paint the glowing cheek,
The beating heart, the looks that speak.
What but Apollo's lyre express
The full maternal tenderness.
Thus flushed with pride and ardent love
Latona views her twins from Jove.
Conscious, she on the Delian Earth
To two divinities gave birth.

Amelia's visit was commemorated by a Doric arch, "accompanied with the statues of Apollo and the Nine Muses," the occasion for another verse of flattery.

In this neighbourhood are Dido's cave designed by Vanbrugh and "consecrated to his memory" and a charming "Rotundo" on Ionic columns Vanbrugh's work "altered by Borra." In the distance a sham Gothic castle is visible. "Under an old elm not far distant the Heliconian spring is seen to rise." There is another ruin and to counterbalance its romance the Temple of Ancient Virtue another rotundo on Ionic columns by Kent containing statues of Lycurgus, Socrates, Homer and Epaminondas with suitable Latin inscriptions. Another example this of the return to the political, moral and literary tradition of pagan antiquity. There is a naval column, adorned in Roman style with beaks of ships erected "by the late Lord Cobham" in honour of his nephew, Captain Grenville, killed in action under Anson in 1747.

"Here you cross the Serpentine river which brings you into the Elysian fields." You cross by a shellbridge, the work of Kent, and in the Elysian fields find another example of his architecture, "The Temple of British Worthies, a building cut into niches wherein are placed the following bustos": Pope, Sir Thomas Gresham, Inigo Jones, Milton, Shakespeare, Locke, Newton (Blake's two bugbears), Lord Bacon, Alfred the Great, the Black

Prince, Queen Elizabeth, William III, Raleigh, Drake and Hampden and finally Sir John Barnard who, his inscription informs us, opposed in Parliament "the pernicious and iniquitous practice of stock-jobbing" and after thirteen years' effort carried in 1750 a Bill "Reducing the interest of the national debt on terms of equal justice to particulars and to the state notwithstanding all the impediments which private interest could oppose to public spirit." This worthy, unfortunately, has not, like his fellows, stood the test of time. Though twice referred to in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* his busto lacks the niche of even a short article. We should notice the honour paid to an empirical and practical philosophy of a positivist temper but also to poetry.

At the head of the Serpentine river is a grotto "Furnished with a great number of looking glasses on the walls and ceiling, all in frames of plasterwork set with shells and flints" and containing a marble statue of Venus, "on a pedestal stuck with the same."

"The Temple of Concord and Victory is a large beautiful building of the Ionic order in the antique taste and one of the principal ornaments in the garden. It has six statues on the top, as big as life, and the front pediment is adorned with a piece of altrelief by Mr. Scheemaker representing the four quarters of the world bringing their various products to Britannia," a somewhat ironic sculpture to Britons of 1948. It contains a statue of public liberty and fourteen medallions taken from medals commemorating recent victories, among them Wolfe's conquest of Quebec.

"Here is a large and delightful vale adorned with various statues intermixed with clumps of trees beautifully disposed," a combination characteristic of the transition between Baroque and landscape gardening represented, as we have seen, by the Stowe of 1777. In this park is an obelisk in honour of Wolfe and "a lofty fluted column to the memory of the late Lord Viscount Cobham." Raised on the summit the statue of Lord Cobham in Roman costume in the person, it seems, of

Lucullus looks more ludicrous than dignified. It was erected by his widow in 1747. In this neighbourhood is the Fane of Pastoral Poetry, to judge by the illustration, a charming building with a circular roof raised on circular arches and containing a statue of Pastoral Poetry. Once more the Arcadian Pastoral so dear to the Baroque culture is in evidence. "The Ladies' Temple is built upon groin arches with Venetian windows and two niches in each front." These are intended for statues not yet executed of ladies of the Temple family. It contains rooms adorned with paintings. "On the right hand are ladies employing themselves in needle and shell work. On the opposite side are ladies diverting themselves with painting and music." Though we may smile at the implication that women's work cannot be taken too seriously even in the fine arts we might well ask ourselves whether the charming embroidery and shell work these ladies produced was not more worth while than most of the amusements and many occupations of the modern woman. Another Gothic and romantic pendant to these classical imitations is the Gothic Temple, "adorned in the Gothic way with carved work and painted glass." One would like to know if it were earlier or later than Walpole's famous work at Strawberry Hill. The Palladian Bridge, practically a replica of the delightful contemporary bridge at Prior Park, Bath, leads to "the great terras-walk."

The Temple of Friendship, dated 1739, "is a large structure of the Tuscan order. The inside is furnished with busts of the late Viscount Cobham and his friends." These, as we might have expected, are leading personages of the Whig nobility, among them Lord Chesterfield, and Chatham. There is also Frederick Prince of Wales, and whatever joy the statues of his father and mother may have felt at the honours paid to Princess Amelia they could not have been gratified by this tribute to Freddy. The Pebble Alcove is deliciously Rococo. It "is a little grot neatly adorned with pebbles; his late Lordship's arms are curiously wrought upon the back with the same materials." The last of these garden ornaments is a monument by Kent to Con-

greve. It is a small obelisk surmounted by the figure of a monkey "viewing himself in a mirror." For, as the Latin inscription tells us, "Comedy is the Mirror of Fashion." On one side of the obelisk "the poet's effigies" is carved lying "in a careless posture." On the other a Latin epitaph with an English translation is inscribed, "To the sprightly entertaining elegant Wit and the polished, candid, easy Manners of William Congreve."

This memorial of the comedy of manners fitly concludes an expression so representative of a culture essentially theatrical and often, especially in this later phase, in the artificial and affected style the word frequently connotes.

We need not delay on the description of the interior, in effect an inventory of its most important contents and of no outstanding interest. As members of the general public we may be satisfied with this visit to a garden which represents so perfectly the English eighteenth century as lived and portrayed by its "enlightened" aristocracy. No religious depth nor enthusiasm of any kind, much play acting in the borrowed robes of antiquity, but elegance and charm and the very genuine awareness of an aristocratic and patriotic tradition, respect for a code of natural morality and an ancestral way of living, mild romance which may indulge itself with ruins and Gothic architecture but is not permitted to contest the dominance of a strict classicism—all these qualities and defects are mirrored at Stowe as we see it in this year 1777. I hope my readers have enjoyed their visit as much as I have myself.

SYRIAC AND ARABIC IN THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM

By GEORGE EVERY, S.S.M.

EARLY evidence for the use of Greek, Syriac, and Latin in the services at the Holy Places can be found in the *Pilgrimage of Etheria* before the end of the fourth century:

> Now, forasmuch as in that province some of the people know both Greek and Syriac, while some know Greek alone and others only Syriac; and because the bishop, although he knows Syriac, yet always speaks Greek and never Syriac, there is always a priest standing by who, when the bishop speaks Greek, interprets into Syriac, that all may understand what is being taught. And because all the lessons that are read in the church must be read in Greek, he always stands by and interprets them into Syriac, for the people's sake, that they may always be edified. Moreover the Latins here, who understand neither Syriac nor Greek, in order that they be not disappointed, have (all things) explained to them, for there are other brothers and sisters knowing both Greek and Latin, who translate into Latin for them.[1]

Saint Sabbas and his disciple Saint Theodosius, at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, founded monasteries in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem where the divine office and the liturgy of the catechumens were recited separately by three groups of monks in three different languages, but all assembled in "the great church of the Greeks" for the liturgy of the faithful. In the contemporary lives of the two saints the subordinate languages are Armenian and "the language of the Bessi", identified by commentators with a Thracian tribe. In later manuscripts of the *typikon* of Saint

[1] Eng. trans. by M. L. McClure and C. L. Feltoe, London, 1920, p. 94.

Sabbas in the twelfth century they are Georgian, Syriac, and "Frankish" (Latin), and in the fifteenth Georgian and Syriac.[2] The Bessi may have been Latin-speaking Illyrians; on the other hand they may be Semitic. Other evidence of the liturgical use of Syriac in the Orthodox church in Palestine is to be found in the Latin *Commemoratorium de casis Dei,* an account of the expenses of the Patriarchate compiled for Western subscribers, probably in the time of the Emperor Charlemagne, traditionally in about 808-10.[3] Other languages listed in the same text are Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and in the case of a single hermit, Arabic. An inscription recorded by Dositheus in his *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem,* written in Greek at the end of the seventeenth century,[4] as found by him on a tombstone in a monastery near Philippolis, commemorates "the most holy Patriarch of Jerusalem Kyr Euthymius, by the mercy of God Patriarch of the Holy City of the Resurrection of Christ our God, Jerusalem", who died there in exile in 1092. He says that this inscription is in Greek, in Georgian, and in "Armouric", which may mean Latin.

A number of authorities[5] agree that in 1101, soon after the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the Holy Week services at the Sepulchre were in "Latin, Greek, and Syrian"; some add Georgian and Armenian. Other evidence of a Syriac element in the church of Jerusalem that cannot be confused with the unorthodox Syrians, Jacobite, Nestorian, or Monothelite, can be found in descriptions of the Holy Places written in about 1170 by John of Wurzburg[6] and Theodorich,[7]

[2] *Cod. Sinai.* 1096 and 531, cited by E. Kurtz in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* III (1894), pp. 168-70.

[3] In T. Tobler and A. Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae,* Vol. I, Latina, Geneva, 1879, pp. 301-5, printed from a MS. of the ninth century.

[4] Published in Bucharest in 1715, p. 752.

[5] See summary by H. Hagenmeyer in *Revue de l'orient Latin* IX (1902), pp. 419-22.

[6] *Patrologia Latina* 155, *c.* 1088; Eng. trans. from another text in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society,* Vol. V, No. 14, p. 69.

[7] *Ibid.,* No. 17, p. 14.

who both distinguish between Syrians and Jacobites, associating the " Syriani " with the Greeks and Georgians.

A small quantity of literature, mostly liturgical, has come down to us in the Palestinian dialect of Syriac. The earliest manuscripts are of the seventh century, and the latest, so far as I know, is a " liturgy of the Nile ", a service of intercession for a good inundation which must have been compiled or copied for Palestinian settlers in Egypt in the thirteenth century. All were written for Orthodox, not for Nestorians or Jacobites.[8] A very much larger number of undoubtedly Orthodox manuscripts are in the Edessene Syriac of Northern Syria, including several copies of the Byzantine liturgy in translation. This was still sung at Ma'loula, where a form of Syriac is still spoken,[9] " at the beginning of the nineteenth century ". The people of Ma'loula are Roman Catholic Melkites, who submitted to Rome in the eighteenth century. Elsewhere Syriac seems to have given place to Arabic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, if we go by the evidence of liturgical manuscripts. Arabic lectionaries, containing epistles and gospels only, are found earlier. One in the Vatican is of the twelfth century.[10] Some early fragments of Arabic liturgical texts and homilies[11] belong to the Orthodox community in Transjordania, around Kerak, which probably spoke a kind of Arabic before the rise of Islam.

The Jacobites and Nestorians possessed a considerable literature in Syriac. The Orthodox would be less prolific, since those clergy and monks who had intellectual interests naturally gravitated towards the Greek choirs. The Orthodox Syriac manuscripts that have been discovered and classified are lives

[8] See F. C. Burkitt in *Journal of Theological Studies* II (1901), pp. 174-185, XXIV (1923), pp. 415-24.

[9] See Robin Fedden, *Syria,* London, 1946, pp. 44-6.

[10] See Dom Placide de Meester in *Dictionnaire d'archaeologie chrétienne,* xii, *c.* 1608, F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western,* Oxford, 1896, introduction, p. xcii.

[11] See George Graf, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur bis zur frankischen zeit* (1099), *in Strasburger Theologische Studien,* VII, i, 1905.

of the saints, homilies, or liturgical texts. But we know from Jacobite authorities and from the Orthodox Agapius of Menbidj, who wrote in Arabic in the tenth century, that Theophilus of Edessa, who died in 785, was the author of a Syriac translation of the Iliad and the Odyssey, and of other works on history and astronomy. Michael the Syrian says that he was "a Chalcedonian and regarded as his heritage the hate of the Orthodox (Jacobites)."[12] His works are all lost. When the Orthodox ceased to speak Syriac, they soon abandoned it as a liturgical language, unlike the Jacobites and Nestorians, who use it to this day. They ceased to copy Syriac manuscripts; those that remain in their libraries have long lain unread, and often very imperfectly classified.[13]

Arabic Christian literature has a longer and more complicated history. Theological works were written in Arabic by Theodore Abu Qurra, a disciple of St. John of Damascus, as early as the eighth century. In the tenth century a universal history was written by a doctor of medicine, Said Ibn Batriq, who from 933-40 was Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria under the name of Amba Eutychius. After his death his work was continued by Yahya Ibn-Said al-Antaki, who moved from Egypt to Antioch in 1009 and died there in 1040. Another Syrian Melkite who wrote a universal history in Arabic was Agapius or Mahboub, Bishop of Menbidj, who was writing in 941. Eutychius and Agapius have a common interest in Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. They are as interested in Persia as they are in Constantinople, which is at the western edge of their field of vision. Eutychius knows no Patriarchs of Constantinople between 686 and 906. Yahya says that the name of Pope Benedict II, who died in 685, remained in the diptychs at Alexandria and Antioch until after 1000. He knows no

[12] See a note by A. A. Vasiliev in his edition of the Kitab al-'Unvan, *Patrologia Orientalis,* VIII, iii, p. 525.

[13] E.g., The Syriac manuscripts at the convent of St. Catherine on Sinai, catalogued by Mrs. A. S. Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica* I, 1894. Many of them are marked "late, liturgical." A few are identified as Jacobite or Maronite, but most of them must be Orthodox, as the library was collected for practical purposes, not for research.

names of the intervening Popes. Eutychius knows nothing of the Iconoclast controversy before the time of the Emperor Theophilus (829-42). He has nothing to say of the Seventh Oecumenical Council in 787, or of the Councils in Constantinople over the affairs of Photius and Ignatius, in 861, 867, 869, and 879. Unfortunately the sole surviving manuscript of the second part of the Kitab al-'Unvan of Agapius breaks off before 787, but he seems to regard the Iconoclast council of 753-4 as the Seventh Oecumenical. The information in Eutychius may be derived in part from an Iconoclast source.[14] Agapius falls easily into forms of expression that seem to us characteristically Moslem. He is quite cut off from the Byzantine empire.[15]

These writers used Arabic to reach a mixed audience of Moslems, Jacobites, Nestorians, and Melkites. It is probable that in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Arab empire Greek and Arabic gained upon Syriac. Jacques de Vitry, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, thought that all the Syrian Christians spoke Arabic, and used it in secular business, but had their religious books in Greek.[16] This must be a simplification, but it does suggest that Arabic-speaking Christians were attending Greek rather than Syriac services, in Palestine as well as in Transjordania. A manuscript in the Patriarchal library at Jerusalem, " dated in more than one place as being written in the year 1122 ",[17] containing additions of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries, shows that in the

[14] E.g., P. G. 111, *c.* 1136-7.

[15] Eutychius and Yahya were published together in Arabic in 2 vols., ed. P. L. Cheikho, Beirut and Paris, 1909-12. A Latin version of Eutychius by E. Pocock, published at Oxford in 1658, is in *Patrologia Graeca* 111, *c.* 889-1156. Two parts of Yahya (to 1013) are in *Patrologia Orientalis,* XVIII, v, and XXIII, iii. Agapius is in the same series, V, iv, XI, i, VII, iv, VIII, iii.

[16] In his *Abbreviated History of Jerusalem* (*c.* 1220) in *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts,* Vol. XI, No. 31, pp. 67-8.

[17] See Sir Anton Bertram and J. W. A. Young, *Report . . . upon certain controversies in the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem,* Oxford, 1928, pp. 51-4.

church of the Holy Sepulchre part of the Easter service was translated from Greek into Arabic by "the second of the deacons", as it had been translated into Syriac and Latin by priests and deacons in Etheria's time. This custom may have superseded the older custom of a triple or quadruple choir singing the same service simultaneously in three or four languages. References to this are found in a description of Holy Week ceremonies in 1106 or 7 by the Russian Abbot Daniel.[18] The date of 1122 on the manuscript in the Patriarch's library is confirmed by a note on the new custom of taking the Easter procession through the Temple Church (the Dome of the Rock), but much of it seems to be copied from a text of the tenth century. The Patriarch Nicholas (? 922-37) is commemorated in the diptychs. At some later stage the Palestinian element must have regained some lost ground for "at the ceremony of the Holy Fire one of the choirs, which joins in the procession round the Holy Sepulchre, sings in Arabic."[19]

Elsewhere the Arabic language has occupied, no doubt by a slow process of infiltration, the place of Palestinian or Edessene Syric. Relics of the tradition of plural choirs in the monasteries around Jerusalem remain in the Greek and Arabic choirs in all large provincial churches, for instance at Bethlehem. In the parish churches the services are in Arabic; and Arabic services are held even in the Cathedral of the Patriarchate, the church of St. James, next door to the Holy Sepulchre.[20]

It seems likely that the Syriac element declined before the Arabic rose to take its place. As the Orthodox population fell monasteries would become depleted. The Greek choirs were filled with Syrians of little education, who had acquired just enough Greek to sing, while Syriac choirs were deserted. No Melkite who spoke Arabic would learn Syriac, as this did not lead to further learning. All who sang in Greek choirs, or attended the liturgy in Greek, were naturally classified as

[18] *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts,* Vol. IV, No. 6, pp. 77-8.

[19] See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Analecta, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1894, pp. 18-9. I owe this reference to the Rev. D. J. Chitty.

[20] Bertram and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-1.

Greeks. So in the reports of Latin pilgrims who came to Jerusalem at the end of the fifteenth century[21] the Syrian element, as distinct from Greeks, Georgians, Nestorians or Jacobites, comes relatively low in the list. The German traveller Solomon Schweiger, who visited Jerusalem in 1581, found a hundred and fifty Greek Christian families, ten Syrian, five Georgian, twenty-two belonging to the various unorthodox communities, Copts, Jacobites, Abyssinians and Nestorians, and two families of Maronites (Uniates). As the Greeks cannot have been all Greek-speaking, it would seem that he classed the Arabs as Greeks if they attended Greek services. His may be the last reference to Syrians as a distinct element in the Orthodox community.

A document of 1579[22] records the resignation of the Patriarch Germanus, a native of the Peloponnesus, who came to Palestine and became Abbot of Mar Sabbas before he was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1543, in succession to Dorotheus Attalas, who bore an Arab name and was almost certainly Arabic-speaking. Germanus was a Greek by race and in all probability the real founder of the modern predominance of the Greeks in the Orthodox church of Jerusalem; yet he found it advisable to take his discharge from a synod of clergy and lay notables representing the whole Christian community in Palestine. The synodical act[23] was executed in Arabic, and signed by a number of persons with Arabic names. In the middle of the seventeenth century Arabic liturgical books were printed in Rumania for the Christians in Palestine and Syria, who were protected, ruled and patronized by the Phanariot Greeks from Constantinople. The Phanariots formed the aristocracy of the "Rum Millet", the nation of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman empire. Gradually indeed the

[21] For Fra Suriano in 1485 and Canon Casola in 1494 see Miss M. M. Newett's note to her edition of *Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*, Manchester, 1907, p. 391.

[22] Chrysostomos Papadopoulou, *History of the Church of Jerusalem*, Athens, 1910, pp. 481-2, cited in Bertram and Young, p. 61.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 59-62.

Millet became more centralized, at the expense of the separate traditions of Syrians, Bulgarians, Rumanians and Serbs. After 1661 the Patriarchs of Jerusalem were elected in Constantinople.[24] In the eighteenth century the Phanariots captured the Patriarchate of Antioch, where some of the Syrians, including the Syriac Melkites of Ma'loula, had submitted to Rome. The Serbian Patriarch went into exile at the end of the seventeenth century, and towards the end of the eighteenth the autonomous Bulgarian province was temporarily suppressed.

Yet the Rum Millet of Orthodox Christians remained a single nation. The Phanariot aristocracy was not a closed circle. Monks could still enter it who joined Greek choirs and rose to be superiors in monasteries. Two of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem elected in Constantinople in the eighteenth century seem to have been of Arabic extraction.[25] Modern Hellenic nationalism, which claims for the Hellenes, by race or speech, the people of Greece, the Aegean islands, Cyprus, and the Greek-speaking coastlands of Asia Minor, all that belonged to "Greeks" in the Middle Ages, dates from the Greek rising against Turkey in 1822.

In the medieval period "Romans" or "Greeks" may mean one of four things: (a) subjects of the Byzantine empire; (b) Orthodox who use a Greek liturgy, as distinct from Syrians, Latins, or Georgians; (c) sometimes, especially in Egypt, or among the Jacobites and Nestorians of Mesopotamia, Melkite or Orthodox Christians as distinct from the heterodox churches; (d) in the thirteenth century and after, in the Levant but not in Russia, Greek-Orthodox as distinct from those who submit to Rome. I would maintain that none of these uses, not even the second, justifies the modern claims of the Greek race to a place of domination in the church of Jerusalem. Said-Ibn-Batriq and Yahya-Ibn-Said presumably sang the liturgy in Greek at Alexandria and Antioch, but their "national consciousness", in so far as they had one, was indubitably Syrian.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[25] Bertram and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.

In a dissertation on human geography at the beginning of his history Agapius ascribes to the inhabitants of the fourth climate, which includes Syria, Rhodes, Cyprus, Attica, and part of Asia Minor, a special aptitude for philosophy and the natural sciences, " for they are distinguished by subtlety of spirit and of knowledge because of the equilibrium of their character." In the fifth climate on the other hand, which includes Constantinople, the rest of Asia Minor, Thrace and Rome, the inhabitants are " passionate, extremely wanton, stormy and easily irritated . . . They are less intelligent and philosophical than the inhabitants of the fourth climate; they are fierce and not civilized, but they are eager to adopt civilization and adapt themselves quickly to it. However the inhabitants of the fourth climate have a more exact spirit and a clearer understanding than they."[26]

This judgement of a civilized Syrian Christian upon Constantinople in the age of Constantine Porphyrogenitus is interesting. He includes Athens and Rhodes in the fourth climate as ancient centres of intelligence. Moreover they come into his geographical scheme, which follows the lines of latitude with fair accuracy. But in his view the modern centres of intelligence were the cities of Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. The civilized were their inhabitants, Christian and Moslem, Melkite, Jacobite, and Nestorian, Sunni and Shi-ite.

In the eyes of Agapius Moslems were Christians of a kind. His account of Mohammed is significant.

> " His family, his kinsmen and his tribe grouped themselves round him, and he made them believe in one God with whom no one is associated; reject the worship of idols, and adore only one single God. He told them . . . to believe in the prophets and apostles and what God had revealed to them, to believe in Christ, the son of Mary, and to say that he is the Messiah of God, His Word, His servant and His spirit; to believe in the gospel, in Paradise, in Hell, and in the day of the last judgement. He said that

[26] *Patrologia Orientalis* IV, v, pp. 611-4.

> in Paradise there is eating and drinking, marriages and rivers of wine, milk, and honey, and girls with black eyes who have not touched man or genie. He prescribed the fast and the five prayers and other things of which I will not speak for fear of being over long."[27]

Agapius may have had other fears of offending the government. He says that from Mohammed the Christian Arabs received safe-conducts. But

> "All the people who were not in accord with him, that is the Jews, the Magi, the Sabaeans, and the rest . . . took an oath to him and received his protection."

In another passage he says that the Caliph Omar-Ibn-'Abdl-al-Aziz,

> "manifested his devotion and his fear of God; he chased from his empire corrupt practices, forbidden to Moslems . . . He wrote to the Emperor Leo to ask him to become a Moslem, and attacked in his letter the Christian religion. Leo replied and confuted his arguments; he proved the perversity of his doctrine and showed him the light of Christianity by proofs drawn from the Revealed Books, the laws of reason, and the testimonies of the Koran."[28]

Here we have a clue to the temper in which Agapius himself might engage in religious discussion.

SYRIAN PATRIARCHS OF JERUSALEM.

The following Patriarchs with Syrian names occur in a period when Eutychius (b. 868, d. 940), and Yahya (d. 1040) may be regarded as contemporary or almost contemporary authorities.

Eutychius, ed. Pocock, Oxford, 1658.

[27] *Ibid.*, VIII, iii, 456-7.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 502-3.

Thomas Tamrik, 812 for ten years .. pp. 416-28
Basilah, 820 for twenty-five years 428
Sergius, of the family of Mansur, who delivered Damascus to the Arabs, 844 for sixteen years 444
Salmun, son of Zarkun, 857 for five years 454
Theodore Al-Moklati, 862 for nineteen years 459
Elias, of the family of Mansur, 879 for twenty-nine years 471
George, son of Daajan, 908 for four years and six months 491
Christopher or Christodoule, in 938 .. 531

Yahya in *Patrologia Orientalis*, XVIII, v, pp.

937-51 Christodoule ibn-Bahram or ibn-Mihram 726-7
966-9 Christodoule II, Habib Abou-Sahl of Caesareas 799-802, 818
986-1006 Orestes, the maternal uncle of the Caliph's queen, the daughter of Al-Aziz-Billah. He was high in court favour and went on an embassy to Constantinople, where he died .. .. XXIII, iii, pp. 415, 461, 483-7

I have discussed the question of Syrian Patriarchs in the thirteenth century in *Eastern Churches Quarterly* VII (1947), 8, pp. 46-54. In the Bertram-Young *Report*, pp. 40-5, good reasons are given for believing that the traditions current in Jerusalem in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century favoured the view that most of the Patriarchs were "Arabs" before the death of Dorotheus Attalas (1505-43). That Attalas himself was Arabophone is a matter that hardly admits of any doubt. Many modern Greeks admit that the Patriarchs were "Arabs" in the second half of the fifteenth century.

THE WORK OF THE CHRISTIAN CELL

By E. CAMMAERTS

WHAT is a Christian Cell? It has been defined as "a living constituent within the Body of the Church",[1] or as an "organism . . . consisting of mutually connected and dependent parts . . . sharing a common life."[2] Such definitions, based on the allegory of the vine, our Lord's words at the Last Supper, and St. Paul's references to the Church, have been framed after many cells had grown and multiplied in recent years. They do not express, and do not pretend to express, the conscious intentions of the first Christians who, in this country, began to meet regularly in small groups, a few years before the war. They merely translate into theological terms the result of their action.

The period from 1935 to 1939 was not only a period of political tension, it was also a time of spiritual crisis during which a large number of people felt a growing need of fellowship, under the threat of imminent war. It was during these years that the Oxford Group started its campaign for "moral rearmament", and that the first cells made their appearance.

THE CELLS AND THE GROUP

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, it might be useful to indicate, from the first, the difference existing between the methods and aims of the Oxford Group, on the one side, and those of the Christian Cells, on the other. Both movements recognize the necessity of bringing a new life into the Churches, of increasing between Christians a sense of fellowship, of extending the work of evangelization, and of bringing this new spiritual force to bear on modern conditions of life, both

[1] Canon Parsons: *The Spirit of the Christian Cell,* 1946 (Press and Publications Board of the Church Assembly).

[2] The Rt. Rev. E. J. Palmer: *Christ's Partners,* 1947 (*Ibidem*).

national and international. But while the Oxford Group is highly organized, under duly appointed leaders, and possesses a legal status under the Companies Act, the cells scattered throughout this country are not even linked together by a central secretariat and remain entirely independent, both with regard to their rules and their methods of work. While the leaders of the Oxford Group wish to " apply Christian rules " on " a global scale ", and to build up a world Christian force on interdenominational lines " adequate to overcome the onslaught of militant materialism, and ultimately to implant the Christian ideology as paramount in every nation ",[3] the aims of the cells concern mainly the spiritual life of their members and of the parish to which they belong.

It follows that the Group's propaganda is carried out in several countries by a number of recognized representatives, and pursued through the organization of large international meetings, and the publication of many books and pamphlets, while cell-work depends almost entirely on personal contact and is particularly reluctant to advertise itself. Its results are by no means negligible, but far less striking than those of the Group. How could we, for one moment, compare the small retreat-conferences held, since the war, between cell delegates from the English dioceses, with great international Moral Rearmament rallies, such as the one held recently in Switzerland, where 26 nations were represented?

The main difference lies perhaps in the interpretation of the " Kingdom of God, here, on earth." Through the speeches and writings of Dr. Buchman and his disciples, the conviction is often expressed that the Group Movement will rapidly transform the world and the nature of its political life. The " Kingdom " does not appear to them, first of all, as a close relationship with God, leading to eternal salvation, but as a human society from which a *moral* revival has excluded all sin, or all possibility of sin. This attitude is closely linked up with an avowed hostility, not so much against materialism in all shape

[3] J. P. Thornton-Duesbery: *The Oxford Group*, 1947.

or form, as against that particular kind of materialism known as " communism ", and with a strong prejudice in favour of " democracy ", especially American democracy. Christian Cells, on the other hand, are not concerned with " Christian ideology ", but with Christian faith and worship. Their members belong, as a rule, to the same denomination, the Church of England,[4] and work in close co-operation with the clergy. They are non-political and form an integral part of the Church.

We are led to the conclusion that, though the two movements possess some common features and may have developed under similar circumstances, they have a different purpose, and should therefore retain their distinct character.

A Call to the Laity

Laymen engaged in cell-work for several years before the publication of *Towards the Conversion of England* (1945), were greatly encouraged in finding, in this official report, a generous recognition of the cell method as " perhaps the most effective instrument for evangelism under modern conditions." Rightly or wrongly, they considered the report as a direct appeal to help the clergy in the stupendous task of converting the people of this country, and to take their share in the activity of the Church to which they belonged.

Certain figures published in the report and confirmed later in *The Times* drove the lesson home: only 10 per cent. of the population connected with the Churches (including all denominations); 12,500 C. of E. parishes; 15,000 active members of the clergy, most of them overworked and underpaid. The answer was plain enough. The laity alone, through its voluntary work, could provide the reinforcements urgently needed if the Church, instead of fighting a rearguard action,

[4] An exception should be made with regard to " vocational cells " which spread rapidly during the war in camps, hospitals and factories where a small number of Christians belonging to different denominations found themselves isolated among a majority of unbelievers. The number of these cells has decreased in recent years, owing to the changes brought about by peaceful conditions, but they are showing renewed activity, particularly among university students.

were to take the initiative in deepening the faith of those already committed, and in bringing within the Christian community the vast number of sympathisers who had for too long sought refuge in their allegiance to a code of decency based on moral principles devoid of divine authority. The report had the great merit of admitting frankly the critical position in which the Church found herself to-day, and of calling on the laity to face its responsibility and shoulder its burden. Was it not "the inalienable right and duty of the laity to take its full part in the spiritual work of the Church"? And was not the cell "the best means of training for witness, as the members meet for prayer, for Bible study, to 'provoke one another unto love and good works', to wait on the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to experience His promised outpouring on steadfast fellowship, and to plan evangelistic advance"?[5]

And so, gradually, the meaning of the Pauline allegory was more fully realized: Christ, the head; the Church, the body; the smallest corporate group in the Church, the cell. A name which had been chosen, perhaps unconsciously, several years before the war, was given its full meaning. The health and vitality of the whole "body" depends on the health, not only of its "members", but of its humblest living organism, when and where "two or three are gathered together", in the presence of God, and open their hearts and minds to the influence of the Holy Spirit.

Ordinary Churchmen and women who wished to devote more time and energy to the work of their own church found a new outlet to their activity in meeting regularly in each other's houses. It gave them a sense of fellowship which they had not been able to find in their congregation, new opportunities for corporate prayer, studies and evangelization. They had responded instinctively to the crisis of imminent danger. After the publication of the report, they realized that, in doing so, they had merely fulfilled their Christian duty, not only because their church was badly in need of their help, in present circum-

[5] *Towards the Conversion of England*, pp. 50, 55.

stances, but because the co-operation of the laity, as an essential part of the Church of Christ, was one of the soundest traditions of the Church, established by the New Testament and manifested throughout the history of Christendom. It was not a " matter of expediency ", urged upon them by the present need of the Church, " it was a matter of simple obedience to a divine command."[6]

The Answer of the Laity

Cell leaders have been so reluctant to " give a lead ", and to represent this quiet and intimate movement—since I find no other word for it—as another " movement " or " campaign ", appealing to the emotions of the crowd, that some of my readers may ask themselves whether I do not exaggerate the results obtained hitherto, or take my fond wishes for realities. Let me say at once that I am dealing here with facts.

The importance of the cells was already recognized by Archbishop Lord Lang when he established, seven years ago, the " Advisory Group for Christian Cells." This group was asked to pursue its activity by Archbishop Temple and has organized, since the war, a series of yearly conferences attended by representatives of the dioceses. The prominence given to the cells in the 1945 report is sufficient proof that a number of leaders of the Church are taking a keen interest in them. But while it is easy to show that this activity takes place and has already borne fruit, it is not so easy to provide concrete and precise information as to numbers, various methods of work, leadership, etc.

Apart from the reticence mentioned above, which prompts many cells not to advertise their existence, there is one obvious reason for this. There is no subscription, and it has been hitherto impossible to establish a properly equipped secretariat. While other movements can afford to spend thousands of pounds on propaganda, no means have hitherto been found to obtain detailed information on cell-work, apart from the exchanges of views taking place in the yearly conferences.

[6] *Towards the Conversion of England*, p. 51.

It is, however, possible to form some idea of the extension of cell activity from a careful enquiry carried out recently (July-October 1947) in the diocese of St. Albans, with the authorization of the bishop. According to the answers given by 200 incumbents, there are, in the diocese, 60 small groups answering to the description of cells and fully conscious of the work they are pursuing through prayer, study and evangelization. This figure does not take into account an equal number of other adult groups, such as branches of the C.E.M.S., Mothers' Union, Sunday School Teachers, etc., which might easily be transformed into cells, or in which cells might be built up; neither does it include vocational Christian groups working on an interdenominational basis. The answers show that urban and suburban districts have been hitherto much more propitious to the development of cells than rural districts. Circumstances are therefore not particularly favourable in the diocese of St. Albans. Taking these results as an average, the number of denominational cells in England alone might be estimated to-day at anything betweeen 2,000 to 3,000—that is 16,000 to 24,000 members (taking an average of 8 per cell).

However inadequate these figures may appear to those who have no practical experience of parish work, they are nevertheless significant, for they show a relatively recent addition to the thousands of lay men and women who have, for so long, actively co-operated with the clergy, as wardens, readers, members of parochial church councils, etc.

The Problem of "Organization"

The results achieved are sufficient to allow us to study the movement objectively, but we are still in the dark concerning its origin. I have never been able to discover where it started, or who started it. There is no acknowledged leader now and there never was. There are no definite rules, although certain groups of cells have adopted a rule of life; there is no central office for the purpose of collecting and exchanging information. The whole thing seems to have grown spontaneously from the need of fellowship, in a moment of stress, and to have gathered

sufficient strength to survive the relaxation which followed the war. Certain cells were established without the founders being aware that they were doing exactly what hundreds of people had already done, and were still doing. A group of friends decided, for instance, that they would choose their fellow members, one by one, through personal contact, that they would meet regularly at each other's houses, that their work would be team-work in which everyone should take his share, that they would allow themselves to be guided as to the character of their activity, and that their numbers would be kept low, without realizing that they were unconsciously conforming their scheme to a well-established pattern determined by the Spirit of God, under certain historical circumstances. We might almost say that cells grew as distinct organisms, without organization.

This genuineness and spontaneity is a sure sign of spiritual inspiration and those who wish that it should be jealously preserved are on the side of the angels. A time will nevertheless come when the organized Church to which the groups belong will have to consider to what extent their independent activity should be sustained and encouraged. The life of the Church is full of examples of such integration, but a great deal of tact and understanding will be needed to help the growing plant without altering the character of its growth, to provide the means of its further development without forcing it in the wrong direction. A prop is no doubt needed, but it must be the right kind of prop, or, to use another metaphor, "the river must be given a clear channel," so that the water should not "run to waste or be lost in the sand."[7]

It is, no doubt, much better that a number of questions, such as leadership, the recruiting of new members, the amount of time devoted to prayer, study and evangelization, or the adoption of a rule of life, should be left to the initiative of every cell or group of cells, under the advice of the local clergy; the same applies to the formation of single or mixed groups, where men and women co-operate. But this respect for the "personality" of the cell does not exclude exchange of views as to the best way

[7] *The Spirit of the Christian Cell*, p. 4.

to run a group, for instance, in rural and urban districts, or when members belong to the industrial class or the middle class, or when classes are mixed. Neither does it exclude exchange of information as to the methods to be adopted in Bible reading or the study of books particularly suitable for cell-work, or again as to the means of providing the members who can ill afford the expense with the necessary books or commentaries.

There is a vast difference between regulation and advice, propaganda and information, over-organization and friendly help. The fear of the first should not prevent the use of the second.

The Spiritual Family.

There are certain characteristics of cell-work, however, which do not depend on rules imposed from outside, but which, as I tried to show above, are inherent in it. They do not rest on organization, even on the wisest organization, but on experience. You recognize the features of a cell in a group as you recognize the features of a certain nation or race in a man you happen to meet. His is born that way; so is the cell.

The first of these features is the small number of members (from three to twelve, which is the extreme limit).[8] Not only does the cell differ, in this respect, from larger groups which take pride in their numbers, but it differs even from the ordinary congregation with which the priest quite legitimately wishes to fill his church.

This may be explained in several ways. The simplest and most adequate is to say that those who decided to meet their Christian friends were badly in need of fellowship. Some of them were irregular church-goers, concentrating their attention on individual devotions, and finding that this direct intercourse with God, or with the "God within them", did not give them the support which they had expected from it. Others were regular church-goers who felt that even corporate worship was

[8] When fresh recruits are brought in or ask to join after the numbers are completed, the cell multiplies either by delegating one or two members to lead this new group, or by splitting and forming two groups containing an equal number of original members.

not enough because, owing to the large size of the congregation, or to the shifting population of the district in which they lived, they were unable to establish close personal contact with their fellow-parishioners. They met them, no doubt, and exchanged greetings with some of them, but this relationship remained on the whole superficial; they were not friends, in the true sense of the word, still less " brethren in the Lord ", sharing their griefs and their joys, actively concerned in their worldly and spiritual life. " Men who had lived in the belief that, in order to be a good Christian, it was not enough to lead a decent life and to conform to a certain moral code, saw that the root of righteousness is in charity, and that the love of God can only be lived in the love of neighbour taken literally, the love of each individual included in this small band of brothers which God had given him, the same Tom, Dick, and Harry whom they had never met before or whom they had only greeted casually. Such was the discovery these Christians made, the discovery that, beside the room where they said their prayers, when they said them, and beside the parish church where they attended service, when they attended it, there was something else, something at once larger and smaller, more generous and more intimate, a place where 'two or three are gathered together.' "[9]

When fully developed, a cell becomes a spiritual family. It may be objected that the same words should apply to the whole congregation. The question is: Do they apply ? And if they do not, how can fellowship be restored between the many, if it is not restored first between the few ?

This question of small numbers runs through the whole history of Christendom, from the Twelve Apostles to the small churches established by St. Paul in his travels, and from Apostolic times to the Middle Ages, when Benedict, Bernard and Francis gathered round them small companies of friends and relations when they founded their first monasteries. We hear, no doubt, of great sermons and mass conversions, but the sensational results obtained in this way were prepared and consolidated by a relatively small number of Christians, ready to give

[9] E. Cammaerts, *The Cell and the Church, Theology*, August, 1946.

their life for the love of Christ. Christianity has grown in the world through quality more than through quantity, and this quality has often been tested by persecution.

The virtue of small numbers may also be explained by the limited power of human nature in a world limited by time, space and imperfection. We need not study psychology to realize why we cannot share the thoughts and feelings of a crowd as we can share those of a few friends. As numbers increase, the atmosphere of quiet, peace, selflessness and tolerance is more and more disturbed. We catch ourselves making speeches, scoring points, trying to obtain the approval of the majority or, if we are cursed with an irritable temperament, challenging their disapproval. We take sides, we delight in division. We no longer think, speak and act under God. The fellowship is broken.

Left to his own devices, the individual is bound to feel lonely or to become spiritually proud. The love of God is intimately wedded to the love of neighbour. Confronted by a large number, the average man grows either passive, subject to all influences, good or bad, or self-assertive and filled with the lust for power. Either way, he loses his personality, his true self. Contact with a few friends whom he is able to love and care for, and who share his faith, is the best means of restoring the balance. Among them, he is ready to speak and act as God prompts him, and more often to be silent and sit back and learn from others. In this " team work ", the effort of every member of the team—or the cell—can only be effective when combined with the effort of others. All seek the same thing, the Truth, as Jesus showed it to us; all are inspired by the same love, and because their hearts are open, they will, from time to time, see and hear, for the cell works in silence as well as in words and deeds.[10]

[10] It is worthy of notice that this idea of teamwork is connected with cells on the continent. Among the French and Belgian Catholics, they are called " *Equipes de Saint Paul*," among the Dutch Calvinists " *Gemeente Ploegen* " (teams). Needless to say, these names were chosen independently.

Since the cell is a family, it must find a home. One of the most valuable discoveries made by those who started cells was that the meetings should take place in private houses. The hospitality given by every "brother" in turn, becomes a symbol of personal friendship. It is better to be occasionally cramped in a small room, even to sit on the floor, than to feel lost in a cold church hall. This may seem a detail, but it is a significant detail. The door behind which so many of us shelter our privacy, stands open to the brothers. The fellowship, under God, breaks that barrier as it breaks the barrier of set or class. The meetings are not public, but intimate, and the intimacy of the surroundings harmonizes with the homely, peaceful spirit of the small gathering.

Here, once more, the new method has unconsciously rediscovered the old. St. Paul's converts met in private houses. The first churches, or *ecclesiae,* were sometimes very small, including the householder's relations and friends. Even larger groups met in the hall of private houses, and each group, in the same city, was known by the name of the house of the brother or sister who offered hospitality, such as Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, Nymphas and Philemon at Colosse.[11] In the same way, small groups of Christians were driven into the catacombs or other hiding places during the persecutions.

The Cell in the Parish

There is, however, an essential difference between those early domestic churches and modern domestic cells. We are told that the first Christians "went on steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of the bread and the prayers." The sacrament was administered, first by the Apostles themselves, and later by duly appointed leaders. The cell cannot therefore be considered as the rightful heir of the early *ecclesia.* It takes its place in the parish, beside other lay activities, close to the church, which it endeavours to strengthen through the action of trained communicants and evangelists.

[11] Hart: *The Christian Ecclesiae,* p. 118.

If we wished to form an ideal picture of a modern live parish, in which the work of the laity is properly co-ordinated, we should examine first the part to be played by youth and adult fellowships, working mainly to maintain and promote contact between the parishioners. We should consider more specially the work done by large organized adult groups, such as the C.E.M.S. or the Mothers' Union. The members of the cells might be recruited from these larger groups or from the ranks of specially committed Churchmen and women, such as the communicants' guilds. In the same way, the vicar might choose among cell members those whom he wished to help him as wardens, parochial church councillors, or readers, evangelists and visitors. So, from the priest downward, there might be a kind of hierarchy of co-operation and commitment, which would bring the laity into the service of the clergy, without unduly trespassing on the independence of the first or the privileges of the second. Under this ideal scheme, the spiritual pyramid with the priest at the top and the Christian or would-be Christian community at the base, would weld together all the resources available in the locality, and grow in strength and influence.

This is not a utopian scheme and I know personally several parishes where it is being nearly realized. It may become the most practical answer to the challenge of the 1945 report. But, in such a scheme, the development of cells plays an essential part, for it fills a gap which even the most efficient and devoted activities of larger groups cannot possibly fill. It is among the readers and in the cells that the priest will find the liaison officers who can link together his congregation in a solid block, the faithful shepherd dogs watching over his flock, and answering his call.

No amount of sermons or lectures will shake an average congregation's apathy if it is not taught to stand on its own feet, instead of sitting at the feet of eloquent divines. Lay people are being asked to help in the work of evangelization, and many of them have shown that they wish to help. The difficulty is, to put it plainly, that the vast majority do not know how and

where to begin. With regard to worship, for instance, they realize the paramount importance of increasing the number of communicants, but they are at a loss to explain why, in their own words, or in a way which might influence the people with whom they are in contact. With regard to doctrine, the lay people find themselves in the same difficulty. They know only too well the questions the unbelievers among whom they move every day are likely to ask, but they do not know the answers, either because they have not been properly instructed, or because they have never been able to assimilate the instruction they have received. As far as the Church is concerned, the work of the cell is an essential part of adult education.

Clergy and Laity

We live in a world riddled with rationalism, in which stumbling-blocks encumber the way leading to faith. Faith, truly, is a gift and no theological argument can give it to an unwilling or unprepared soul. But the stumbling-blocks can be removed if laymen are given the appropriate tools and are taught how to use them. Well-equipped laymen, in close contact with the world, might render great service in this preliminary work, and leave the experience of life to do the rest. No doubt, the sermon plays its part, but how can people hear it if they are not persuaded to enter the church, or even to switch on their wireless at the appointed time? We are told that nothing is more needed to-day, in order to reach the outside world, than a well-trained laity, and that plans are being prepared to satisfy this need. Meanwhile, there are thousands of devoted Christians who have already, during these last years, worked and prayed in a spirit of self-sacrifice, without receiving any practical help and with very little encouragement. Will the Church allow this spontaneous response to her own call to lose strength and purpose? There are signs that a number of groups have disappeared in recent years. In some parishes, this loss is due to a change of leadership, the new incumbent disapproving of the methods adopted by his predecessor. Is it not time that, in each diocese, a priest should be given the task of looking after the cells and of helping them with advice and, if necessary, with

some active support?[12] If thousands of pounds can be found for great rallies and campaigns, involving a large amount of time and work, is it too much to suggest that a small fraction of this effort should be devoted to the consolidation of a voluntary movement which would provide such rallies and campaigns with the necessary "follow-up", and help the Church to harvest the crop she has taken so much trouble to sow?

I hope I shall not be accused of idealizing or exaggerating the part which the laity is called to play in this connexion. I am well aware that this activity could not be maintained without the active help of the clergy. Indeed, in many parishes, the lead of the vicar or of his curate is indispensable, whether the group concentrates on prayer or on study. A number of bishops have shown their interest by sending representatives to the annual conferences held by the Advisory Group. Some incumbents have explained how they had tried, again and again, especially in rural districts, to stimulate the interest of the most faithful members of their congregation, and how they finally had to give up the struggle. Attempts to transform certain parochial church councils into cells have failed in the same way, because the councillors wished to confine their work to administration. Such an attitude is truly deplorable but can be understood. It is based on the prejudice entertained by many laymen that they should limit their Church activity—outside service hours—to secular matters. What is more difficult to understand is the reluctance shown by some incumbents to recognize the value of cell work, and even, in certain cases, their marked disapproval of the movement. A few of them have taken upon themselves the responsibility of discouraging parishioners who came to ask for their blessing, placing them in the cruel alternative of giving up the mission which they wished to fulfill or of disobeying their own priest, of rejecting the advice of the Church, as represented by the 1945 report, or of refusing to accept the advice of the Church, as represented by their vicar.

[12] In some cases, this task might be entrusted to rural deans.

Nature and Methods of Work

Cell workers are often asked: "How do you do it?" If they are unwise, they launch into long explanations which are seldom helpful to the enquirer, and often misleading; if they are wise, they answer: "Come and see."

The crux is the fellowship in the love of God, and we can "explain" neither the fellowship nor the love of God. We can only see them and hear them when we are brought in the midst of them. Even then, their presence is not evident. There is nothing particularly excitir in finding oneself among a few people, wasting some time in ettling dates and places of future meetings, exchanging news about absent or sick friends, commenting on some verses of the New Testament or some passage of a book on the doctrine of the Church, discussing it in connexion with modern national or international conditions, sometimes agreeing, sometimes agreeing to differ, always with good temper, preserving a sense of humour and proportion, dealing with the deepest theological questions in a shockingly familiar language, showing each other their difficulties and their discoveries, often old difficulties and much older discoveries, and finally drowning all this talk in a deep pool of prayer.

The stranger may go away, shrugging his shoulders, thinking that all this is either above or below his head, or he may ask to come again, feeling that he has found something he has always been wanting, a spiritual home in which the fellowship of God and the fellowship of man are reconciled through the Holy Spirit. That is, by the way, how some conversions are made: "May I come again? May I become a regular member? May I join in your next corporate Communion?"

Prayer is essential. A prayerless cell is merely a study group. But it need not be very prominent at first. Whatever leaders do in connexion with prayer, they should be careful not to force the pace. All depends on membership and surroundings. If the spirit of fellowship develops, the spirit of prayer is bound to develop with it. If a brother is in trouble, he will instinctively use the time devoted to intercession to ask for his brothers' prayers. Besides, some of those responsible for

the devotions of the evening will, in the same way, go back to their familiar collects, their psalms or short services, such as Compline, as well as to the Creeds, the Canticles, and the Lord's Prayer.

It is a moot point to decide whether it is better for a cell to begin with the Scriptures, or with some short book on doctrine. I am inclined to favour the second alternative because, before finding in the Scriptures the source and justification of the great dogma, it is essential to remember what these dogma mean. Many laymen have to start from the beginning and must try to forget all the humanistic ideals and ethical teaching with which their minds have been filled since they learnt their Catechism. As for the Bible, the Old Testament should be studied in relation with the New, and particular importance should be given to the Acts and Epistles which are not so well known as the Gospels, and afford many opportunities of considering Christianity in practice, and the relations between the church in which we pray on Sundays, and the world in which we live the rest of the week.

These remarks are merely the result of personal experience. Anyone, writing on the subject, might have other and, no doubt, better suggestions to make. But all cell-workers will agree that in prayer and study, the method of team-work should be maintained. Team-work is the practical expression of fellowship. Therefore all should take a share in the discussion, and leadership in prayer and study should be given to every member in turn. This is perhaps, with regular attendance, the essential rule which should be accepted by all lay members.

The position of the clergy is somewhat different. They cannot be expected to attend every meeting, especially when there are several cells in the parish. Where laymen can be found to run the group or groups, the clergy can nevertheless render invaluable service in advising on the choice of books, and in helping to solve serious difficulties. When laymen are not yet able to take the initiative, or in those parishes where they are reluctant to handle books and commentaries, clerical

leadership becomes indispensable. But, even in these cases, the method of team work may be preserved to a certain extent, whether in the arrangements made for prayers or in the discussion of a short address given by the priest. In all circumstances, the most ignorant layman should feel that he has a contribution to make, and that he plays an active part in the common work. A cell meeting should not be another service, and the talk another sermon. It is the place where all questions should be discussed with the utmost frankness, where the weak should not hesitate to show their weakness, and the strong their defects, and where all should understand, in the light of the Holy Spirit and under his redeeming power, how small is the distance which separates them.

* * *

Cell workers may be criticized on many grounds. They may be told that their method will not yield quick results, that it is not likely to bring about an early reunion of the Churches, that it may not prevent a revolution or another war which would finally wreck the world and put an end to all our problems.

I hope I have said enough to show that the initiative taken by cell workers is consistent with the spirit of the New Testament, in which we always find first things given the first place. To rebuild the parish on a sounder basis should be the first step towards the strengthening of the Church, which should, in turn, be the condition of the conversion of the country. In the same way, we should perhaps ask ourselves whether we deserve the blessing of reunion between the Churches, as long as members of every Church are not united; or the secular security of universal peace between nations, before Christians have achieved spiritual peace, under God.

As for the threat of annihilation, should we not believe, as did the first Christians, that what matters first of all is not that we should live or die but that we should live and die in the Love of the Lord and engaged on his work?

HINTS ON STARTING A CHRISTIAN CELL IN THE PARISH (ADULT)

(1) Establish contact with one or two laymen, to whom the idea of the cell may appeal, and suggest that they might enrol the support of personal friends, to gather in each others houses regularly, if possible not less than once a fortnight.

(2) It is better to leave all arrangements, and the chairmanship of the meetings, to a layman.

(3) When the members are able to handle simple books (see list below), the best method is for each member in turn to prepare a chapter, and report at the next meeting, leaving plenty of time for the following conversation, in which all should be invited to join. In order to obtain this close co-operation, each member ought to have a copy of the book, and study the set chapter before coming to the meeting, which should open and close with prayers, either set prayers, or prayers prepared by one of the members beforehand, to which all may contribute (intercession).

(4) When the laymen are not able to do this work, the leadership falls necessarily on the clergy. But the same rule should be observed with regard to the proportion of time devoted to the address (about 20 minutes) and to the following conversation (about one hour). Members of the clergy might take this opportunity of removing misconceptions prevalent among the most faithful churchgoers, and of clarifying the foundations of their faith far more thoroughly than can be done from the pulpit. Some excellent results have been obtained by using simply the Prayer-book as the basis of teaching. In some cells, the arrangement of prayers is left with the laymen.

(5) The essential difference between cells, including from 3 to 12 members, and larger groups, such as Youth Fellowship, Mothers' Union, C.E.M.S., etc., is not only that they concentrate on the first principles of the Christian doctrine, and their application in the life of the community, but that they carry on their work through spiritual families bound in close fellowship, which sooner or later finds its expression in worship: Corporate Communion, etc., as well as in action (evangelization, visiting, helping in the work of the Church).

The larger organizations mentioned above offer an excellent recruiting ground, and a cell can be formed within some of them, which, far from arousing competition, should strengthen their influence.

(6) Recruiting of new members generally takes place through

personal contact. No one should be persuaded to enter the cell, but if anyone expresses any serious interest, he should be invited to attend one or several meetings, although some discrimination should be used to avoid the entrance into a cell of people who might not be able to adapt themselves to its spirit.

Apart from Bible Reading, when possible with the help of a commentary, and the study of the New Testament based on a comparison between the Authorized Version and Modern Versions, such as Moffatt, there are a number of easy books dealing with (a) the doctrine of the Church and (b) the situation of the Church in the present day:

A. *The Doctrine of the Church*:

At present available:

The Religion of the Church. Bishop Gore. 2/6.
The Holy Spirit and the Church. F. A. Cockin. S.C.M. 1/-.
Broadcast Talks. C. S. Lewis. Centenary Press. 2/6.
Beyond Personality. C. S. Lewis. Centenary Press. 5/-.
The Problem of Pain. C. S. Lewis. Centenary Press. 5/-.
Preface to Bible Study. A. Richardson. S.C.M. 3/6.

Being reprinted:

Readings in St. John's Gospel. William Temple. 12/6.
Creeds in the Making. Alan Richardson. S.C.M. 3/-.

B. *The Situation of the Church in the present day*:

At present available:

Towards the Conversion of England. (1945 Report).
Christian Behaviour. C. S. Lewis. Centenary Press. 2/6.
The Bible speaks to our day. G. Barclay. S.C.M. 2/6.

Being reprinted:

Citizen and Churchman. William Temple. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 4/6.
Secular Despair and Christian Faith. Alec R. Vidler. S.C.M. 2/-.
Secular Illusion or Christian Realism. D. R. Davies. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 4/6.
The Two Moralities. A. D. Lindsay. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 4/6.

Where the members are reluctant to handle a book, good results have been obtained by sending round references to short

passages in the New Testament on which they are asked to meditate and pray before the meeting. Such preparation is advisable in order to prevent loose talk and to allow everyone to make his or her contribution.

GODFREY GOODMAN, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER

In the article which appeared under this heading in our last issue, the sub-heading on p. 29 should have read — "MS. SOURCES FOR ENTIRE *LIFE*".

REVIEWS

STUDIES IN THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH PROTESTANT TRADITION. By E. G. RUPP. (Cambridge University Press, 1947.) 8s. 6d.

THIS study of the influence of Lutheran theology on the Church of England during the reign of Henry VIII is notable for at least three reasons. It deals with a subject over which most historians of the English Reformation have skated rather lightly; its author has the remarkable qualification of really knowing what Luther's theology was, and of being able to use his theological knowledge to illuminate his treatment of history; and it is seasoned with the salt of a wit which makes it a pleasure to read. The author deliberately limits his attention to this one subject; and leaves his tale but half told, reserving for another volume both the continuation of the story into the following reigns and also some parts of it (e.g., the Eucharistic controversy which carried John Frith to the stake) which had their beginnings in this period. It is important to bear in mind this entirely reasonable limitation when reading the book, for otherwise conclusions might be drawn which the author is careful not to draw explicitly, and which would be unwarrantable in view of the whole picture of which this is but a part. Thus, he pays little attention to the conservative opposition to Lutheranism; and in his concentration on the theological aspect of the Reformation might give the impression of underestimating the extent to which politics and law controlled the inception and course of the movement. But he has not set out to write a history of the Reformation, and these comments are intended as a warning for the unwary reader rather than as a criticism of either his method or his conclusions.

He finds the real beginnings of serious Protestantism in England not in the "known men," the survivors of medieval Lollardy, who refused to put up candles in their parish churches and preferred the Epistle of St. James to any other book in the Bible, but in the group of Cambridge dons who, in the peaceful years before the King's great matter broke like a storm on the land, were drinking in with a nervous exhilaration the new learning of the Renaissance laced with the new doctrines of Germany. Here is an example of how the author's limitation of his field is likely to be misleading. His heroes are Bilney, Latimer and Barnes, and it is right that he should commemorate them. But

it should be remembered that the Cambridge in which they discussed the news from Wittenberg was the Cambridge which Fisher had patronized, where Erasmus had taught and where Gardiner was even then learning to read the Greek Fathers. It was indeed the seed-plot of the English Reformation, but there was no inevitability about the way in which the young shoots should grow; and not all the flowers were to be like those of Wittenberg. This picture of pre-Reformation Cambridge needs to be supplemented by the pages which Professor Pierre Janelle devotes to it in his *L'Angleterre catholique au veille du Schisme* if one-sidedness is to be avoided. And it is doubtful whether either Bilney or Barnes was quite so important as is claimed here. Bilney is an attractive, pathetic figure; but not even Mr. Rupp's good will can make Barnes appear to be anything more than a stunt preacher with an eye on the main chance who was, all things considered, treated with remarkable forbearance by the authorities before his conduct gave them no option but to burn him. Very different, however, is the later phase of the Cambridge story which is recalled in the last chapter of the book, in a moving description of the Marian martyrs, men mostly of a very different stature, which deserves a high place in that branch of literature undistinguished since Foxe, Protestant hagiography.

In his third chapter Mr. Rupp turns to consider the English Protestants in exile, and here Tyndale has pride of place. His translation of the New Testament is claimed, hardly with exaggeration, as the supreme event of the English Reformation; for it was the study of the vernacular Scriptures which linked the surviving remnants of medieval Lollardy with the Reformers and which made it possible for the Reformation to become, gradually, a popular movement. Next to the translation, Tyndale's most enduring work was his presentation of Lutheranism in an English dress. Luther's works were proscribed in England (so were Tyndale's for that matter) but by translating them and incorporating large parts of them in his own books Tyndale was able to feed the tiny flame of Reformation theology on this side of the Channel. Tyndale's life and work have been adequately commemorated in at least two recent books[1]; but the other exiles have left hardly a name behind them, and it is useful to have

[1] S. L. Greenslade, *The Work of William Tindale*, 1938; and J. F. Mozley, *William Tyndale*, 1937.

some account of Roye and Joye and Barlow. A painstaking attempt is made to unravel the identities of the various Barlows whose transient and embarrassed phantoms flit across the Tudor stage; and a decision is reached in favour of ascribing the book *The Burial of the Mass* (usually known as *Rede me and be not wroth*) to Jerome, the ex-Observant friar of Greenwich, and of allowing to William the dubious achievement of having climbed the ladder of preferment from a dissolved priory through the diplomatic service to a Welsh bishopric, unhindered in the process by any literary indiscretion of the past. Here again Mr. Rupp's limitation of his subject seems to carry with it a limitation of his sympathies. He deplores, naturally enough, the burning of Protestants; but he does not mention the fact that Protestant and Catholic were agreed in burning those whom both regarded as heretics. He rates Sir Thomas More for his lack of sympathy with Protestants; but he does not mention some of the reasons for More's dislike of them, viz., the sheer scurrility of much of their writing, and the much more serious fact that they challenged a structure of piety which More and many other Catholic Englishmen cherished. Devotional books of a tradition which had its roots far back in an undivided Christendom were coming from the printing presses in England quite as abundantly as the Protestant books were coming from abroad. The *Scala Perfectionis* reached a fourth edition in the year that saw the appearance of the *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans;* and before we can understand the English Reformation we need to know why and when devout Englishmen began to abandon one for the other; and also, perhaps, why in the seventeenth century Anglican piety tended to revert to the older models of ascetic devotion.

The Reformation in England, however, was an act of state,[2] and the Royal Supremacy overshadows all. The high Tudor doctrine of royal authority already had a long history behind it; and in the only partially concealed tensions latent in the relation of Church and State, of the Canon Law to the laws of the realm

2 " The one definite thing which can be said about the Reformation in England is that it was an act of State." F. M. Powicke, *The Reformation in England,* 1941, p. 1. It is curious that Mr. Rupp makes no mention of this most important and singularly dispassionate study of the Reformation.

in the early sixteenth century lay the occasion and the excuse for its violent expression and extension. The theologians justified it by appealing to the Bible, and for many years to come political and ecclesiastical controversy was to be occupied with the figures of the anointed kings of Israel, the royal reformers of the Temple and the Old Testament concept of the Church-State. Mr. Rupp has some illuminating pages on the theological background to this high teaching on the State; but the limits he has set to his study oblige him to discuss the question of the distinction between the *potestas ordinis* and the *potestas jurisdictionis* without mentioning the preface to the Edwardine ordinal or considering the legal aspects of the problem dealt with, for example, in Makower's *Constitutional History of the Church of England;* and thus again he gives us material for an appreciation rather than a true appreciation itself of the meaning of the Reformation.

The most original material in the book is contained in the sixth chapter, a careful and detailed study of Henry VIII's negotiations with the Lutheran princes, which will be useful to historians of the tortuous, clumsy and almost uniformly unsuccessful foreign policy of the reign.

The most important part of the book, however, for the light it throws on the theological beginnings of the English Reformation and hence of the pedigree of the Church of England, is the study of the confessional literature of the decade 1537-47 in the seventh chapter. Mr. Rupp's case is that throughout the last ten years of the reign there was nothing less than a doctrinal reformation in progress, and that in the very large amount of committee work that went on behind the scenes Lutheran influences were strongly felt; that these influences are to be seen not only in the Ten Articles but also in the contents of both the " Bishops' Book " and also the " King's Book "; that the King himself, so far as he understood what was being done, was sympathetic, and that at his death, in spite of the "Six Articles", further changes impended. Neither the evidence he adduces nor his interpretation of it is entirely new; but both together form a sufficiently challenging criticism of what is by now almost the conventional Anglican view of the Henrician Reformation to deserve some comment. I am inclined to think that he has not produced enough evidence to damage Dr. Maynard Smith's estimate of the king's capacity

as a theologian[3]; and that he underestimates both Henry's orthodoxy and the moderating influence which the king exerted on Cranmer. His continued support of the archbishop was probably due more to his recognition of his loyalty to himself than to sympathy with his opinions. The only evidence brought to support the view that further changes impended is a letter of Cranmer's which refers merely to the proposed abolition of "the ringing of bells upon Allhallow-day at night, and covering of images in Lent, and creeping to the cross."[4] It might have been added that the chantries were doomed, and with them much that was characteristic of later medieval piety; and it might be argued that the Henrician compromise was incapable of being maintained indefinitely. But more than that cannot certainly be said. That the Lutheran influence, however, was stronger, more specific and more cordially welcomed in high places than some writers have allowed seems to be proven; and that this and other Continental influences became very much stronger in the reign of Edward VI is well known. All these influences played upon the capacious mind of Cranmer, and have left their mark on the formularies and liturgy of the Church of England. But what still needs to be explained is why, when the Church emerged from the storms and trials of the Reformation period, she was not obviously and unequivocally Lutheran or Zwinglian or Calvinist. The answer surely is to be found in the persistence within the Church of that strain of "Erasmian" Catholic humanism which Mr. Rupp seems to dismiss with a smile. The Church of Hooker and Andrewes was but half a child of the Reformation; and perhaps the true heirs of the Protestant Tradition, the making of which this book so

[3] "Henry had received an education to fit him for a churchman; and he had a mind that revelled in theological distinctions, and a memory stored with ecclesiastical precedents. . . Henry was a theologian who understood what the Church was, and did nothing to destroy the continuity of her existence or to change her faith, orders and sacraments. . . Henry was a bad man but he was a well-instructed theologian; and during the confusion of the early Reformation, England owes much to the fact that the king, unlike the princes in Germany, knew what was fundamental and what was a matter of opinion." H. Maynard Smith, *Pre-Reformation England*, 1938, pp. 520-1.

[4] *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, Parker Society, p. 415.

ably describes, are those who in their day were to deplore the half-heartedness of Cranmer and Ridley and Latimer, and to demand the completion of the work they had only begun; and who later on left their uneasy home in the inadequately reformed Establishment for the unambiguous allegiance of Nonconformity.

R. Cant.

The Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement. By Henry R. T. Brandreth. (S.P.C.K.) 7s. 6d.

This book of 88 pages provides a succinct and valuable outline of the movement for reunion, not as a whole, but in so far as it has been an outcome of the Catholic Movement in the Church of England. The author does not obtrude himself, or express his personal views on the subject. His purpose is rather to give a factual account of the course of events bearing upon the ideal of Christian unity, as cherished by the leaders and followers of the Tractarian Movement, and of the steps taken in working for its realization. Hence the limitation of scope imposed by the subject on the writer. He leaves almost unnoticed the mutual approach of the Anglican and non-episcopal Churches, particularly since the Lambeth Appeal of 1920, and the very real progress made in understanding and agreement between them; and that, for the very good reason that Home Reunion had, and still has, only a secondary interest for the Catholic Movement in this country. Its representatives have, indeed, been far less concerned to promote reunion with the non-episcopal Churches than to deprecate any steps in this direction which would, in their view, compromise fundamental principles of Catholic faith and order.

Indeed, the primary concern of the early Tractarians was not with other Churches, Catholic or Protestant, but with the Church of England herself, and with the need of recalling her to "a realization of her essential Catholicism." Hence from this standpoint they adopted, in the main, a defensive attitude both to Rome and to the Dissenting bodies. For it was, as Pusey maintained, in so far as the Churches looked primarily to themselves and their own amendment that they would in the long run draw nearer to each other. At the same time the branch theory of the Church, as held by the Tractarians, meant that from the first they cherished the hope of, and worked for, eventual reunion both

with the Catholic West and with the Orthodox East. But while the approach to the Orthodox Churches, going back indeed behind the Tractarians to the Non-Jurors, has now become the concern of the Anglican Church as a whole, it is in connexion with reunion with Rome and the Papal See that the Catholic Movement in the Church of England has throughout given the lead, and, not seldom met halfway from the Roman side, has explored ways of removing misunderstandings, and reconciling differences in doctrine and polity which separate the two Communions.

In his Eirenicon, originally written in answer to a bitter attack by Cardinal Manning on the Church of England, Pusey took the line of drawing a clear distinction between that which had been defined as *de fide* by the Roman Church, and the working popular system of belief and practice which had grown up in modern Rome, with official approval, but with regard to which a wide margin of liberty was permissible. It was in the latter sphere that, according to Pusey, there were to be found those features of Roman order which were unacceptable to Anglican Churches. On the other hand, in matters of faith, as declared by the Council of Trent, he felt that there were few if any elements which could not be " explained " to the satisfaction of Anglicans, just as he also felt, in line with the plea of Tract XC, that Anglican doctrine was patient of a Catholic interpretation. The reply to this Anglican olive-branch from the Roman side, including that of Newman, was unsympathetic; and to Pusey himself the main argument of the Eirenicon ceased to hold good after 1870 with the convening of the Vatican Council and the promulgation of the dogma of Papal infallibility. Indeed, the latter was a grave set-back to those both on the Anglican and the Roman side who had patiently explored ways of mutual understanding.

And with the rise of Manning to authority at Westminster, in succession to Wiseman, who had throughout been sympathetic, the strongest opponents to any step in the direction of the reunion of the Anglican and Roman Churches were to be found in the Roman Catholic community in England; a fact which perhaps was not unnatural, in as much as any recognition of the Catholic character of the Church of England, and of the validity of her Orders, cut the ground from under the feet of the Roman episcopate and priesthood in England. Certainly it was from this

quarter that influence was brought to bear upon the Papal Commission appointed in 1896 to examine the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, and which led to the issue of the Bull *Apostolicae curae* declaring those Orders null and void. And similarly it was in view of the traditional discouragement of any mutual approach between the Anglican and Roman Churches shown by the Archdiocese of Westminster that the conversations initiated by Lord Halifax and the Abbé Portal in 1921 took place at Malines, on the invitation of Cardinal Mercier, and not in England. Whether and when any similar approach, official or otherwise, is likely in the near future seems wholly uncertain. Certainly there is little or no encouragement to such an approach on the official Roman side. And meanwhile on the Anglican side, within the Catholic Movement itself, there are still the three attitudes to the question, characteristic, as Fr. Brandreth points out, of the early Tractarians. There are those who like Oakeley and Dalgairns, would go far, if not the whole way, in accepting the Roman position. There are those, like William Palmer of Worcester College, who would hold wholly aloof. But there are those too, and surely the wisest, like Pusey and, later, Halifax, who are content courageously and patiently to explore ways by which the long breach can be healed, and, without compromise of principle on either side, unity between the Anglican Church and the Roman See can be secured.

P. A. Micklem.

Conflict in Christology: a Study of British and American Theologians from 1889-1914. By J. S. Lawton. (S.P.C.K.) 20s.

If the Church is to remain true to her essential nature, there must be a creative relation between the life of the worshipping Church and the study of theology by specialists; in particular the study of Christology is no detached pastime of the academically-minded, but is an essential function of the whole Church, as she seeks to live the life of Grace. If that life is to remain victorious and vitalizing, people must know whom they have believed, and the discussions of professors should both express in intellectual terms the basis of the Church's living faith and should strive to help forward the mediation of a higher degree of such life.

Theology ought to find expression in the realms of both

thought and action; but it will never do this if theological statements, whether primitive, medieval or modern, are used as intellectual material to be discussed apart from the illumination they give and the demands they make on the life of the Church.

Just as the words of Scripture are not themselves the Word of God but can become, when properly used, the medium for hearing that Word, so theological discussion and statement cease to have the power to reveal living truth, if it is forgotten that "No man can say that Jesus is Lord but by the Holy Ghost." Such an approach to Scripture or Church theology need not become the refuge of those who do not want to think or act; properly understood, it should lead to a more insistent demand for both clarity of thought and effectiveness in action; certainly, unless such a result happens, the Church will cease to have any living theology; she will always be looking back instead of up, and within instead of without.

As a help towards the maintenance of a living theology, there is always room for books on certain periods of historical theology, which simply tell us objectively "It has been held that so and so"; and while this story of historical theology is being told, it is inevitable that some judgement should be implied or expressed as to the truth or relative adequacy of the views described; but when this is done the standard by which the judgement is made should be quite clear. This standard always involves the assertion of some conviction about dogmatic theology, and we must beware of just comparing one period with another or one mode of expression with another, when we do not make clear the standard of comparison we are using.

These general remarks are pertinent to a review of a book by Mr. J. S. Lawton. In this book some account is given of the conclusions reached by some British and American theologians from *Lux Mundi* to *Foundations* (1889-1914). The first four chapters give a good description of certain aspects of the general philosophical background or cultural climate of these years, and then the author reviews the work in the field of Christology, of Gore, Fairbairn, Martineau, Garvie, Forsyth, Weston, Du Bose, Warschauer, R. J. Campbell, Edward and John Caird, Sanday, William Temple and a few others.

The prevailing cultural presuppositions referred to are Evolutionism, Immanentism, and a theory of knowledge which tried to jettison all the *a priori* elements in knowledge.

These presuppositions created so dangerous a position for theology that the above mentioned theologians are said to have tried to save the ark from disaster by adopting various expedients, all of which seem to the author to be wholly wrong. It is true that some of these theologians are called " moderate " while others are " extreme," but they are all lumped together as representative of " liberal theology " and are roundly accused of not understanding the Calcedonian Definition. (One wonders if we have not by now had enough of this sweeping denunciation of liberalism; does not the world rather need to save what was true and throw away what was false in that way of thought? I remember someone saying in a sermon at the beginning of the war that that was the purpose of the war.)

The attempts to underpin the theological ship took the following forms: (1) Kenotic theories; (2) Studies in our Lord's interior life and his Messianic Consciousness; (3) Ritschlianism and value judgements; (4) The " New " Theology of Warschauer and R. J. Campbell.

Clearly there is an assumption in the mind of the author that the period he is studying is a self-contained whole—a sort of naughty nineties—and everyone good and bad must be tarred with the same brush and come under the same generalization. Thus, much injustice is done to several distinguished writers and the good and bad in the period are not adequately evaluated. The treatment of Gore is odd to say the least; while to quote early aspects of the work of R. J. Campbell and William Temple without also quoting later work by the same authors can only be called unfair.

The strange thing is that the author states in his introduction: " No judgement is offered in these pages upon the relative adequacy of liberal theology or its fidelity to the facts of the eternal Gospel." The book contains such judgements in almost every chapter and I would hold this to be inevitable, since an intelligent review of historical theology must contain some judgement as to truth, given in the light of convictions about dogmatic theology.

The general dogmatic viewpoint of this book is a vague reference to the Calcedonian definition (which incidentally the author does not print in full). My contention is that such a reference demands a more detailed treatment of the psychological and

metaphysical terminology of the patristic writers than is given. Admittedly many of the theologians, whose work is reviewed in this book, set out to emphasize a side of Christological doctrine which they held had not received proper attention at Calcedon, and their work can hardly be judged without raising the question whether the recent emphasis on the full humanity of our Lord may be not antithetical but rather complementary to that of Calcedon. Certainly the definition of Calcedon does not elucidate all its statements and there must be room for enquiry as to its implications. Bishop Weston made a distinguished attempt to synthesize the truth in both emphases and our author blames him for even making the attempt.

It is, however, still the duty of theologians to commend the doctrines of the Christian Faith by refusing to make the approach to comprehension more difficult than it need be. Gore, Forsyth, Weston and Temple were all anxious to carry out this duty and they all succeeded in some measure. It is certainly unjust to describe their work in the language of vituperation.

I must also express my surprise that so far as I can see the Holy Spirit is not mentioned in the book, and that accounts, I suppose, for the absence of any reference to the publication of Dr. Inge's great book on *Christian Mysticism* in 1899.

There is bad English on pages 202, 232 and 256; references seem to be mixed up in several places; thus Edward Caird and W. L. Walker are confused; as are Fairbairn and W. N. Clarke. There are many things of value in this book but its usefulness in this regard will be much decreased by the fact that there is no index either of persons or subjects.

H. K. Archdall.

Walter Howard Frere, Bishop of Truro. A Memoir by C. S. Phillips and others. (Faber and Faber.) 16s.

An official biography of Bishop Frere (1863-1938) is yet to be written. In the meantime many Anglicans who never knew him, as well as those whose friend or spiritual guide he was, both in Cornwall and outside, will be grateful for the sympathetic picture which Dr. Phillips and other devoted admirers here provide. The book " purports to be nothing more than a memoir, designed to furnish a portrait of the man Walter Frere as he was and a brief

account of the main stages of his career" (p. 120). Within these limits it gives an attractive account of the varied interests, rather than of the life-work, of this versatile monk who was the first in modern times to become an English diocesan without ceasing to be a religious. The brief sketch of his career is followed by studies of him as liturgist, historian, musician, and "exponent of Christian sanctity." The book has not been hurriedly written. Dr. Frere died nine years ago. Three of the contributors had also died before the manuscript left the printer's hands; Mrs. Stuart Moore (Evelyn Underhill) in 1941. The symposium has therefore been assembled slowly and with care. If there is some repetition of phrase or comment, that is the sign of independent witnesses agreeing. Some passages are particularly notable for their frankness: thus, at the beginning, we are told of the lonely and unhappy childhood which left its mark on the grown man, of a family legend that young "Waltie" failed to get into Eton because his elder brother (already there) made him drunk on the day of the examination; and, towards the end, of the decline of the bishop's influence and prestige among his brother bishops, and of the brightness dimmed and the patience exhausted when back at Mirfield. "I think," writes Fr. Talbot candidly, "that for him mankind was divided into two classes only—the few of first-class ability and the rest. If the former were lacking, one must 'make do' with the latter" (p. 55). Dr. Phillips is unwilling "to disfigure the story of Frere's episcopate" (p. 93) with a chronicle of Protestant agitation. With that one exception the portrait shows few signs of having been touched up. The writers have obviously resisted the temptation to produce an unbroken lyric on simplicity and sanctity, and what they have written in praise of this Christian will be the more acceptable on that account.

It would have been illuminating to have been told how much in Frere's baffling character, as here portrayed, was traceable to the influence of his own family, how much to that of the Mirfield experiment, or what in him was natural, what supernatural. His gifts were rare; but so had been those of several Freres of the past. The D.N.B. enumerates eight distinguished members of the family, not seven (Sir Bartle's literary daughter, Mary (1845-1911), is omitted from the tree on page 14). What relation was the Venerable H. C. Frere, Archdeacon in Syria at the beginning of this century? How intimately did the future bishop study his

Wordsworth connexions? And was he at all conscious of his Gipps antecedents?

The chapter by Dom Gregory Dix on "The Liturgist" is at once the most interesting, the most controversial, and the least discreet. Certain remarks about Archbishop Davidson (p. 132) and other bishops (pp. 135, 136, 142) are not in keeping with the gracefulness and courtesy of the rest of the book. And references to the part which Frere took in the conversations over Prayer-book revision are too brief to be weighty. A statement that Frere's view about the Canon "arose first of all out of what he considered healthy for the future development of Anglicanism, rather than from what presented itself to him from patristic and liturgical study," even though "he certainly put it before the bishops as primarily a thesis about primitive eucharistic doctrine and practice" (p. 137), requires more space for explanation than could be given in so short an essay.

One page in this book is beyond price. It is the facsimile (facing page 122) of a leaf from the marked Greek Testament which Walter Frere kept constantly in use. The illustration shows the opening of the Fourth Gospel in the Greek, with close, clear hand-written notes crammed round the text and diagonal lines linking particular words. This is an object-lesson for all students, a reminder to many clergy.

W. W. S. March.

The Authority of the Old Testament. By A. G. Hebert, S.S.M. (Faber and Faber.) 1947. pp. 326. 15s.

In his recent review of *The Rise of Christianity* Canon Bezzant complained that too much "post-critical theology," including "the new 'Biblical theology'", is "practically irrelevant to the paramount consideration of the *truth* of Christianity" (*C.Q.R.*, Vol. CXLIV, p. 154). This charge can certainly not be brought against Fr. Hebert's latest book. If we are to get at the truth, it must presumably be through the Bible. But criticism has overthrown the old Fundamentalism (or, as Fr. Hebert would prefer to say, the conservative view of Inerrancy). What then remains? And, more particularly, what remains of the authority of the Old Testament? This is a "paramount consideration" indeed;

and the fact that it is here seriously grappled with for the first time makes this work of quite outstanding importance.

The book is bound to be studied as widely as its subject deserves; and it is enough to say of it as a whole that its contents will not disappoint the reader. Here I propose to confine myself to three main points to which special attention may be drawn:

(1) The central thesis is that the Bible is the Book of the Divine Kingdom, having authority for us as the record of God's purpose worked out in history. In the Old Testament "we get the official testimonies concerning its origins which the Israel of God preserved because it believed that in the Events there recorded the King of the universe has taken action to claim the obedience of men by setting up His kingdom over them, that they may be His people and He their God." In the New Testament the Purpose "is declared to have been completed, so far as the course of this world is concerned, by the advent of the Messiah and His redemptive work." Between these we have the spiritual education of Israel and in particular the predictions of the glory that was to be revealed. And as in the narratives of the Exodus we can discern the core of true history which lies within the embellishments and additions of later ages, so in the writings of the prophets we find not inerrancy but a core of truth to which they bear witness "with a knowledge and an insight which are real but limited" (p. 69).

In a word, what we have to do is to trace the "genuine historical continuity" of the Old and New Testaments and to recognize Inspiration as applying to the Bible as a whole, and not to the writers as individuals or to their writings "taken separately and in isolation from the whole and from one another." There is one Faith of Israel, one God-given Tradition; and our task is to re-possess ourselves of this and to follow it, as a broad high-road, from beginning to end.

I shall pass over Fr. Hebert's exposition of this thesis, if only because his quotations from my own books attest my complete agreement with him. It is enough to record the conviction that if the Bible is not read like this, it will never be understood at all. There is no alternative to the Apostolic tradition.

(2) We have still, however, to face the difficult problem of exegesis. Are we to keep the old four "senses" in which Scripture is to be interpreted—the literal, allegorical, moral and anagogical? Fr. Hebert rightly denies any independent existence

to the last which distinguishes between the Church on earth and the Jerusalem which is even now above, but he is not content with this. He would have us recognize in the "spiritual" interpretation of the Bible a "theological" and an "illustrative" use. The latter is "that in which it is used not to point out some necessary connexion between the events of the Old Testament and those of the New, but merely to illustrate some point which is accepted as true on other grounds." Instances of this are our Lord's comparison of himself to Jonah and St. Paul's illustrative allegory of Isaac and Ishmael (pp. 233-4).

The suggestion is an extremely helpful one and may be commended heartily to all students of the Bible. On the other hand, before it can be used with real profit, it is necessary to be quite clear what constitutes the "theological" side of the distinction. Fr. Hebert's guidance must be followed here with caution. The "theological" sense is concerned with what I have called "homologies," a term which I am glad to see Fr. Hebert finds acceptable but which he does not apply here with quite his usual thoroughness. Thus it is incorrect to say that the quotations in Hebrews i are "scarcely illustrative in any true sense," and therefore still less "theological" (p. 214). The author of *The Throne of David* seems to have forgotten his own special "homology" if he can so regard the reference to II Samuel vii, 14! The new David, of whom this prophecy was spoken, is the Exalted King of the Psalmists, he reigns as God's Son upon his holy hill of Zion (Psalm ii): his, therefore, is that Royal Priesthood which was prefigured by Melchizedek, king of the old Salem (Psalm cx). It is true that the writer of Hebrews presses this second "homology" to the point of allegory but we must not on that account overlook the core of theological truth which it enshrines.

But there is more to be said. The Divinity of Christ is described in Hebrews i, 3, in terms which are derived at least partially from the Wisdom literature but this is simply one aspect of the theological truth that he who inherited the nations as the Seed of David is the Angel of the Presence in Sacred History. Fr. Hebert recognizes the importance of this "living element in the religion of Israel" (p. 149) but he sometimes fails to perceive its relevance. For example, he completely misses the meaning of Malachi iii, 1, for he identifies the "messenger" sent before God's face with the Angel of the Covenant who is to visit his

Temple and refine its priesthood with fire (p. 152). So again, in qualifying the application of Isaiah liii to our Lord (p. 262), he obviously overlooks the reference to the Angel as the "Arm of Jehovah" (Isaiah li. 9f). Thus (to return to the Hebrews passage) he appears to endorse Dr. Oesterley's view that the quotations from Psalms xlv and cii are "beside the mark" (p. 206), whereas both are theologically relevant. The former (spoken of "the King") is to be compared with the argument of Philippians ii, 6-11, while the latter, echoing Deutero-Isaiah, makes its appeal to the eternal Saviour who glorifies Zion and creates as his own seed a new and everlasting Israel.

Space forbids further illustrations; but we may perhaps add that Fr. Hebert's argument (p. 207) for the theological truth of St. Paul's exposition of Galatians iii, 16 (the one seed of Abraham) can be made much stronger by a reference to the "seed" of David in II Samuel vii, 12-13. The second of these verses makes it quite plain that one man only is intended, and it is therefore theologically legitimate to read this meaning back into Genesis xii, 3.

To sum up, Fr. Hebert has done us a real service in the field of Scriptural interpretation. He has simplified our methods and made it much easier for us to distinguish what is of primary and what of secondary importance. What is needed now is a more thorough analysis of the theological implications which the writers of the New Testament learned to discover in the Old.

(3) The vital need for such a study is admirably exposed by Fr. Hebert in his concluding chapter ("Scripture and Tradition"). Indeed this is in one sense the most important part of the book. Few of us perhaps realize, and certainly all of us need to be reminded as we are reminded here, that our present divisions are due to the loss and distortion of the true Biblical Tradition.

Fr. Hebert describes four stages in this process of disintegration. The first is that of the early Church where the Tradition was still preserved in a state of wholeness. Then the balance was so far lost that the Faith was presented "not as a Gospel, explained and applied in a moral teaching and a liturgical practice, but as an articulated system of doctrines, to be assented to by faith, on the authority of a hierarchical Church administered on juridical lines." It was at this stage that the doctrine of Inerrancy appeared, while at the same time the Bible lost its central place and could even be subordinated to the authority of the Church.

The third stage was that of the Protestant revolt against scholasticism and juridical ecclesiasticism. The Bible now became the sole authority, but it was the Bible as interpreted by the Reformers, who were the children of their age, and it became ultimately the Bible as interpreted by the individual believer. The final stage is that of Liberal Protestantism, in which the authority of the Bible is replaced by "religious experience" (*cf.* p. 33). Thus "it is the dismembered state of the Tradition that has produced on the one hand a totalitarian notion of Church authority, and on the other the corresponding idea of an unqualified Private Judgement" (p. 307).

The conclusion appears incontrovertible. "The internal division within the Tradition has been the prior fact which underlies and has caused the ecclesiastical schisms. Reunion, therefore, must be expected to come, not by clever schemes for amalgamating the several denominational administrations, while leaving the inner dissociations unhealed, but rather by the spiritual process of re-integration and recovery of the wholeness of the Tradition; this will lead in due course to the recovery of visible unity" (p. 308-9).

It would be difficult to find a clearer or more forceful recognition of "the paramount consideration of the *truth* of Christianity."

W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS.

EPISCOPI VAGANTES AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCH. By H. R. T. BRANDRETH. (S.P.C.K.) 6s. 6d.

VAGRANT bishops are no new phenomena in ecclesiastical history, but the *episcopi vagantes* who have appeared in England and America during the last hundred years present a unique problem. They wander less than their predecessors yet their activities are even more inimical to the peace and unity of the Church. It is especially regrettable that some of them have derived no small advantage from the ignorance of many Anglicans concerning their origins and pretensions. Three questions, therefore, suggest themselves: (1) *Why* have these *episcopi vagantes* appeared at all? (2) Exactly *who* are the misguided men who deserve this title? (3) *How* are they to be dealt with?

The first is answered by Canon Douglas in his foreword to

this book. For all their nuisance value, he writes, the *episcopi vagantes* " cannot be regarded as other than a by-product of a phase of the Anglo-Catholic revival " (p. xiii). The effect of the reassertion of Catholic principles by the Tractarians had been not only to emphasize their own isolation from the rest of historic Christendom and to quicken their desire for reunion, but also to bring into the foreground the whole subject of Anglican Orders. And it was not long before the growing " quasi-congregationalism " in English Church life (due to the counter emphasis upon the Protestant elements in Anglicanism), the forthright attack upon Anglican Orders by the Romans and their non-recognition by the Orthodox, " produced among Anglo-Catholics, if not uneasiness, at least a certain restlessness and impatient desire to get their validity vindicated " (p. xiii). It was that " impatient desire " which made possible the rise of *episcopi vagantes;* their offer to confer incontestibly " valid " Orders was only an unusual instance of supply answering demand.

A complete answer to the second question is to be found in ten of Fr. Brandreth's twelve chapters which, taken together, form an up-to-date *Who's Who* of these bishops, each of whom " has, or claims to have, received irregular or clandestine consecration; or, having been consecrated regularly and canonically, has been excommunicated by, or otherwise cut off from, the Church which consecrated him, and is not in communion with any historic metropolitical see " (p. 1). In these pages he brings out the identity of these men, their respective origins, claims and activities, from the obscurity in which they have remained for too long. He corrects the generally accepted story of Dr. F. G. Lee and the Order of Corporate Reunion, deals fully with the case of Bishop Vernon Herford, and lays out before us (with copious biographical detail in footnotes) the full lines of succession deriving from Arnold Harris Matthew, Joseph René Vilatte, Julius Ferrete and Aftimios Ofiesh; indicating the special characteristics of each group and their connexions, whether real or fictitious, with the historic Churches. To these are added details of *episcopi vagantes* who stand outside the four principal " successions "; and the whole is consolidated by three valuable appendices, including a bibliography and a list of the principal churches and organizations (most of them existing only on paper) over which *episcopi vagantes* preside.

There can be little doubt that since the restoration of confi-

dence which followed upon the singularly weak case brought against Anglican Orders in the Papal Bull of 1896, the opportunity of the *episcopi vagantes* has progressively diminished. For this reason Canon Douglas forecasts that "twenty years hence only traces of those of whom Fr. Brandreth writes will remain" (p. xiv). Nevertheless, as more than a hundred and twenty such bishops are still alive, more than thirty of them in Great Britain, the third question cannot be evaded: how ought they to be treated by those charged with the administration of the Church? To that no simple answer can be given. For, as this book demonstrates, the characters of the men concerned differ widely (some being honest, others clearly dishonest, and others mentally unbalanced); the circumstances which have brought the "successions" into being are diverse; and the problem is further complicated by the tendency of East and West to favour different theories of validity and regularity. Consequently, while "it seems undesirable for the Church of England to accord any recognition to the various rites and organizations represented by the *episcopi vagantes*" (pp. 4-5), it would seem that her attitude towards *individual* bishops must rest upon a careful assessment of the merits of each case. As for those of their number who may at any time wish to enter the Anglican Communion, Fr. Brandreth is convinced that "as a *rule* the Anglican Church should refuse to give them, or the clergy ordained by them, license to minister within her communion but should require them . . . to give a solemn undertaking never to exercise their Orders and to retire into lay life. It would be necessary to impose the severest ecclesiastical penalties upon any person infringing such a condition" (p. 11). He would allow the Archbishop of Canterbury to dispense from this rule "in exceptional cases where the bishop or priest concerned appeared to have a true vocation to the Anglican ministry."

The reader will put down this book with mixed feelings: of sadness on account of the strange story of religious perversion which it tells; of admiration for the skill which has successfully compressed so much material within so few pages; of gratitude for the enormous amount of laborious research undertaken by Fr. Brandreth over a period of six years to make its compilation possible. This first full story of the modern *episcopi vagantes*, though it is intended primarily as a compendium of information for the bishops at the Lambeth Conference, will be valued by the theologian, historian and parish priest. THOMAS WOOD.

SHORT NOTICES

HERITAGE OF BYZANTIUM. By MARCU BEZA. (S.P.C.K.) 8s. 6d.

DR. Marcu Beza has gathered together in this book the result of wide travels in the ancient orbit of the Eastern Empire, as it presents itself to the modern pilgrim. The method of treatment is familiar, but has the merit that the majority of travel books lack, of wide and diffused knowledge of his subject. In some ways this knowledge is bewildering. The Byzantine world, as seen by the historian or artist, lends itself to the ascription of cultural origins that might well surprise the Byzantines themselves. It is true that the Eastern Empire experienced at least three great classical revivals in its long history: in the fourth century, in the ninth and tenth, and, the most enthusiastic and rich of them all, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries under the Palaiologues. But the genius of Byzantine art, architecture, ceremonial and culture, was its own. The more we learn of it, the more it reveals itself as radically Christian, with its roots deep in the New Testament, and in particular in the Apocalypse, while much of its architectural inspiration did not come directly from Greece and Rome, but from the real East, as known to the great ages of Christian expansion, Persia and Armenia. It is necessary to stress this, if the unique contribution of Byzantium is to fall into its right place. Although the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw certain excesses of zeal for the classical age, comparable to the somewhat naïve Renascence of the West, Orthodoxy always reasserted its Christian content. St. Basil in Athens in the fourth century, wrote no *Prière sur l'Acropole,* but founded a monastery. St. Jerome in Bethlehem overcame his passion for the pagan classics and translated the Bible. In the fourteenth century the school of Barlaam and the brothers Kondylis met and were conquered by St. Gregory Palamas and the monks.

Dr. Beza is no doubt aware of all this, but is content to give us his own reactions, the reactions of a poet and an artist, to Greece and Cyprus, Palestine and Egypt. When he treats of Orthodoxy in the Balkans he is on fruitful ground, and his book takes on an eirenic character that is particularly valuable to-day.

The book is illustrated by nearly twenty photographs of somewhat unequal merit, but more than sufficient to recreate for those who love those bright sunny lands, the charm and beauty of a world

that is fast disappearing in the submerging tide of a secularized Europe.

A. O.

THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN THE LIFE OF ENGLAND By A. T. P. WILLIAMS, Bishop of Durham. (S.C.M. Press.) 6s.

THREE years ago the S.C.M. Press published *The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England*, by the Baptist scholar Mr. E. A. Payne. The book before us is designed to be a companion volume, but the bishop explains that it is written on rather different lines. It is not a short history, but an historical essay. "There is commentary," the writer explains, "rather than narrative; and rightly or wrongly, I have been ruthless in omission of a great deal that is both important and interesting." Dr. Williams was wise to make this clear at the outset, as readers might otherwise have been disappointed. What we have here in fact is a scholarly essay of about 120 pages, accurate in detail and stylistically perfect: we have not even detected a misprint. It is clearly the work of a scholar with a well-stocked mind, a comprehensive knowledge of his subject and a large generosity: the book contains no rash judgement or bitter word. Although continuity with the pre-Reformation *Ecclesia Anglicana* is not questioned, the writer holds that "Anglicanism, in any tolerable sense of the word, begins its career in the sixteenth century," and this study accordingly begins at the Reformation. Chapters are devoted to each century since that time, and special chapters deal with the Evangelical Revival and the Oxford Movement. In commenting on the community of devotion between high and low Churchmen, it is remarked how warmly Keble's *Christian Year*, published in 1827, was welcomed by both. The author opines that J. B. Mozley had the deepest mind of all the men in the Oxford Movement.

In spite of the bishop's warning, we did find certain omissions tantalizing, such as the scant reference to "King Charles the Martyr."

The reviewer has asked himself two questions: (a) Would a reader of this book be strongly attracted to embrace Anglicanism? (b) Would the book be of thrilling interest to an intelligent undergraduate or sixth form boy (and undoubtedly the subject might thus be treated)? With regret he must answer both questions in the negative. The sad truth is that, with all its merits, the book succeeds in being rather dull. There is a carefully chosen bibliography.

F. H.

PERIODICALS

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. XLVIII. No. 191-2. July-October, 1947. Cumberlege). J. de Zwaan : The Unity of Purpose in N.T. Studies. W. Manson : The "Ego Eimi" of the Messianic Presence in the N.T. J. Y. Campbell : The Origin and Meaning of the Term Son of Man. C. K. Barrett : The O.T. in the Fourth Gospel. W. F. Lofthouse : Some Reflections on the Servant Songs. G. MacGregor : God and the Unconscious. E. L. Mascall : Liberalism and Orthodoxy. A Reply to Dr. Webb. P. Katz : Notes on the LXX, v. C. S. C. Williams : The Armenian Text of Mark I. W. C. Allen : "Fear" in St. Mark. H. J. Warner : Romans ix, 5. G. D. Kilpatrick : A New Papyrus of the *Shepherd* of Hermas. G. Ogg : The Computist of A.D. 243 and Hippolytus. C. C. Tarelli : Erasmus's MSS. of the Gospels; Clement of Rome and the Fourth Gospel. Corrigendum, Jan.-April, 1947, p. 120, line 15. H. F. D. Sparks : Cook *An Introduction to the Bible*. G. D. Kilpatrick : Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (4 pp.). W. F. Howard : Taylor, *The Groundwork of the Gospels*. T. W. Manson : Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospels according to St. Matthew*; Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*; Cullmann, *Christus und die Zeit*. W. Telfer : Kirk (ed.), *The Apostolic Ministry* (4 pp.). Dom R. H. Connolly : De Ghellinck, *Les Récherches sur les Origines du Symbole des Aptôres*. J. N. D. Kelly : Cullmann, *Les Premières Confessions de Foi chrétiennes*. J. N. Sanders : Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie*. F. L. Cross : Cavallin, *Studien zu den Briefen des hl. Basilius*. Dom L. Brou : Froger, *Les Origines de Prime*. C. M. Ady : *Die Zusammenheit der Renaissance-Papste mit den Turken*. W. J. Entwistle : Peers (ed.) *The Complete Works of St. Teresa de Jesus*. E. Kemp : *The Canon Law of the Church of England*. D. M. Mackinnon : Collingwood, *The Idea of History*. A. M. Ramsey : Bolshakoff, *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Church in the Works of Khomyakov and Moehler*. E. A. Payne : Van Dusen (ed.), *The Christian Answer*. W. R. Matthews : Payne, *Henry Wheeler Robinson*.

The Congregational Quarterly (Vol. XXV. No. 4. October, 1947. London, E.C.4 : Memorial Hall). Presbyterian-Congregational Union ? G.V. Jones : Thomas Manns' *Joseph and his Brethren*. J. J. Gracie : A National Wage Policy. A. Peel : The American Scene. F. J. Gould : The Background of *Jane Eyre*. D. R. Haggis : Contemporary Protestant Thought in France. A. G. Reekie : The Recovery of Faith. H. J. S. Guntrip : Pastor and People. Temperament, Character and Neurosis. C. J. Cadoux : Scripture and Theology. S. Cave : Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*; Camfield (ed.), *Reformation Old and New*. H. Davies : Lewis, *Miracles*; Davies, *The Sin of Our Age*; Stewart, *The Difficulties of Faith*; Tranoff, *Religious Cross-Roads*. R. S. Franks : MacGregor, *Aesthetic Experience in Religion*; Jenkins, *The Gift of the Ministry*. G. B. Caird : Buber, *Moses*. A. J. B. Higgins : Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past* (laudatory). S. Cave : Phillips, *The Transmission of the Faith*. G. F. Nuttall : Harvey, *Gothic England*; Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries*; Runciman, *The Mediaeval Manichee*. W. R. Niblett : Leeson, *Christian Education*. H. J. Guntrip : Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts* (laudatory).

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XXXVIII. No. 2. October, 1947. Philadelphia : Dropsie College.). S. Zeitlin : Jewish Rights in Palestine. S. Krauss : Jewish Giants in the Gentile Folklore. A. M. Honeyman : A Tannaitic Term for the Christians. E. L. Sukenik : Some Unpublished Coins of Aelia Capitolina. (illustrated). E. G. Kraeling : Miggedein in Genesis xi, 2. N. Allony : An Unknown MS. of "Ben Qoheleth" (illustrated). M. Wilenski : Identification of a M.S. and Ascertainment of its Data. L. Gershenfeld : Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine*. B. L. Gordon : Singer and Rabin, *Prelude to Modern Science*. S. Zeitlin : Hyde, *Paganism to Christianity*. Critical Notes. Correspondence.

The Quarterly Review (No. 571. October, 1947. John Murray). Viscount Hinchinbrooke : The Course of Conservative Politics. R. Goold-Adams : Italy Emerges. L. G. H. Horton-Smith : Landlords and Tenants, 1189-1947. R. Lloyd : The Rack of this Tough World. Sir R. Beazley : Poland and Russia Yesterday and To-day. A. F. Loveday : Some South-American Republics—Chile, Colombia, and Peru. E. Hardy : The Birds of Egypt. G. MacGregor : Public Schools in the Eighteenth Century. P. Freeman : Who was Sir Roger de Coverley ? J. H. Morgan : Nuremberg and After, II. Ray, *Letters and Private Papers of W. M. Thackeray*, III-IV. Madariaga, *The Rise of the Spanish American Empire*. Harvey, *Gothic England*. Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries*. Worsley, *Is There an Honest God ?* Bullett, *George Eliot*. Lloyd, *Lord Cochrane*. La Farge, *Lost Treasures of Europe*. Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia* ("grim but convincing reading"). Haldane, *Science Advances* (critical). Reeves, *The Anatomy of Peace*. McNeill, *The Greek Dilemma*.

Nouvelle Revue Théologique (Vol. LXIX. No. 9. November, 1947. Louvain : Casterman). E. Rideau : *La Grace du Christ. Méditation théologique*. P. Renaudin : *Quelques Aspects du Doute religieux au XIX^e Siècle*. J. Daniélou : *La Pensée chrétienne*. A. Taymans : *Les Catholiques de Tchéoslovaquie et nous*. A. de Bil : *Une "Societas Iesu" au XV^e Siecle*. J. Creusen : *Baptême et Droit eurial, Note pastorale et canonique*. J. de Ghellinck : *Les Six volumes des "Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati."* R. Mols : Cullman *Christus und die Zeit*. G. Gilleman : *Cahiers Spirituels "Amor"*. R. Carpentier : Lebret, *Guide du Militant*. R. Carpentier : Biotet Galimard, *Guide Médical des Vocations sacerdotales et religieuses*. R. Mols : Desforges, *Le Divorce en France*. E. de Moreau : Pirenne, *Les Grands Courants de l'Histoire Universelle, I-II*. J. de Ghellinck : Leflon, *Gerbert, Humanisme et Chrétienté au X^e Siècle* ; Leroy, *Mont-Cassin*. E. de Moreau : Moorman, *Church Life in England in the XIIIth Century* ; Hughes, *History of the Church, III* ; De Meyer, *La Congregation de Hollande ou la Réforme dominicaine en Territoire bourguignon*, 1465-1515 ; Hoffman, *La Réforme en Suède*, 1523-72. A. de Bil : Brodrick, *The Progress of the Jesuits*, 1556-79.

Irénikon (Tome XX. No. 3. 1947. Chevetonge : Prieuré Bénédictin d'Amay). *La Prière de Jésus. Sa genèse et son developpement dans la tradition religieuse byzantino-slave. Lettre Anglaise*. E. Mercenier : *Le Monastère de Mar Saba. Chronique religieuse*. L. Zander : *Prière Universelle et Conscience Oecuménique*. Niebuhr, *Discerning the Signs of the Times*. Loosen, *Logos und Pneuma bei Maximus Confessor*. Marx, *Procliana*. Phythian-Adams, *The Way of At-one-ment*. Headlam, *The Holy Catholic Church*. Davies, *The Political Ideas of Richard Hooker*. Martin, *Les Origines du Gallicanisme*. Dark, *The Passing of the Puritan*. Green, *Bishop Reginald Pecock*. Zernov, *Three Russian Prophets—Khomiakov, Dostoevsky, Soloviev*.

BOOKS RECEIVED

MIDDLETON, R. D.—*Newman and Bloxam*, 261 pp. (Oxford University Press). 18*s*.

RECKITT, MAURICE B.—*Maurice to Temple:* Scott Holland Lectures, 1946, 245 pp. (Faber and Faber). 16*s*.

MINEAR, PAUL S.—*Eyes of Faith*, 307 pp. (Lutterworth Press). 15*s*.

WAND, J. W. C., Bishop of London.—*The Spirit of Church History*, 115 pp. (Mowbrays). 5*s*.

PRIDEAUX, S. P. T.—*The Making of Sermons*, 99 pp. (Mowbrays). 3*s*. 6*d*.

CADOUX, C. J.—*Roman Catholicism and Freedom*, 207 pp. (Independent Press). 7*s*. 6*d*.

KAHLE, PAUL E.—*The Cairo Geniza*, 240 pp. (Geoffrey Cumberlege, for the British Academy). 12*s*. 6*d*.

VISCHER, A. L.—*Old Age; Its Compensations and Rewards*, 200 pp. (Allen and Unwin). 12*s*. 6*d*.

STEWART, CECIL.—*Byzantine Legacy*, 202 pp. (Allen and Unwin). 25*s*.

SUELZER, MARY JOSEPHINE.—*Julianus Pomerius: The Contemplative Life*, 220 pp. (Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Maryland). $2,50.

PRABHAVANANDA, SWAMI, and C. ISHERWOOD.—*The Song of God; Bhagavad-Gita*, 185 pp. (Phoenix House). 6*s*.

KEVIN, NEIL.—*No Applause in Church*, 135 pp. (Clonmore and Reynolds). 6*s*.

From the Bible to the Modern World: Two Conference Reports, 118 pp. (Study Department, World Council of Churches, Geneva). 3*s*. 6*d*.

ORCIBAL, JEAN.—*Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé de Saint-Cyran et son Temps* (1581-1638), 688 pp. (Bibliotheque de l'Université, Louvain). *n.p*.

MOREAU, E. DE.—*Histoire de L'Eglise en Belgique*, 2 vols., 388 and 501 pp. (Desclee, de Brouwer & Cie). *n.p*.

JOCZ, J.—*The Jews in the Bible*, 79 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 2*s*.

FRANK-DUQUESNE, ALBERT.—*Cosmos et Gloire*, 202 pp. (Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, Paris). *n.p*.

SIENKIEWICZ, HENRYK.—*Quo Vadis?* 451 pp. (Francis Aldor). 7*s*. 6*d*.

LANE, JANE.—*London goes to Heaven*, 343 pp. (Andrew Dakers). 10*s*. 6*d*.

INDEX TO VOL. CXLV.

ANGLICAN CHURCH, EPISCOPI VAGANTES AND THE. By Brandreth, reviewed, 277.

ANGLICAN TRADITION IN THE LIFE OF ENGLAND, THE. By Williams, reviewed, 281.

ANGLICANISM OF WILLIAM LAUD, THE. By Bourne, reviewed, 123.

ARCHBISHOPRICS IN EUROPE, 800-1500. Article by Shaw, 96.

BRITISH MUSEUM LIBRARY, THE. By Esdaile, reviewed, 137.

BYZANTIUM, HERITAGE OF. By Beza, reviewed, 280.

CHRISTIAN CELL, THE WORK OF THE. Article by Cammaerts, 241.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP : SOME REFLECTIONS ON ST. AUGUSTINE, EP. 138, Article by Hodgson, 1.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. By Leeson, reviewed, 129.

CHRISTOLOGICAL PROBLEM, A MAJOR. Article by Leeming, 216.

CONFLICT IN CHRISTOLOGY : A STUDY OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN THEOLOGIANS FROM 1889-1914. By Lawton, reviewed, 268.

COUNTRY PAROCHIAL SYSTEM, THE: SOME COUNTER-REFLECTIONS. Article by Moorman, 192.

CRANMER, DIXIT, ET NON TIMUIT —I. Article by Dix, 145.

EDUCATION, CHRISTIAN. By Leeson, reviewed, 129.

EDWARD, LORD, KING HENRY III AND THE : THE COMMUNITY OF THE REALM IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By Powicke, reviewed, 120.

ENGLAND, THE ANGLICAN TRADITION IN THE LIFE OF. By Williams, reviewed, 281.

ENGLISH PROTESTANT TRADITION, STUDIES IN THE MAKING OF THE. By Rupp, reviewed, 261.

EPISCOPI VAGANTES AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCH. By Brandreth, reviewed, 277.

EUROPE, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARCHBISHOPRICS IN. Article by Shaw, 96.

FRERE, WALTER HOWARD, BISHOP OF TRURO. By Phillips and others, reviewed, 271.

GOD'S FAVOURITE : OR THE PHILOSOPHICAL IMPORTANCE OF SANCTITY. Article by Norburn, 196.

GOODMAN, GODFREY, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER (*continued*). Article by Soden, 12.

HENRY III AND THE LORD EDWARD. By Powicke, reviewed, 120.

HEREFORD, THE PAPACY AND THE DIOCESE OF. Article by Driver, 31.

HERITAGE OF BYZANTIUM. By Beza, reviewed, 280.

HULME, T. E. Article by Browning, 59.

JERUSALEM, SYRIAC AND ARABIC IN THE CHURCH OF. Article by Every, 230.

LAUD, THE ANGLICANISM OF WILLIAM. By Bourne, reviewed, 123.

MARXISM. Article by Pearce, 66.

OLD TESTAMENT, THE AUTHORITY OF THE. By Hebert, reviewed, 273.

OXFORD MOVEMENT, THE OECUMENICAL IDEALS OF THE. By Brandreth, reviewed, 266.

PAPACY AND THE DIOCESE OF HEREFORD, THE. Article by Driver, 31.

PERSIAN SAGE, THE. Article by Williams, I, 48 ; II, 177.

PROTESTANT TRADITION, STUDIES IN THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH. By Rupp, reviewed, 261.

REVELATION AND REASON. By Brunner, reviewed, 127.

ST. AUGUSTINE, SOME REFLECTIONS ON, EP. 138. Article by Hodgson, 1.

SANCTITY, THE PHILOSOPHICAL IMPORTANCE OF. Article by Norburn, 196.

STOWE, A : AN EPITOME OF THE ENGLISH EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Article by Watkin, 221.

SWEET TONES REMEMBERED. By Venables, reviewed, 134.

SYRIAC AND ARABIC IN THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM. Article by Every, 230.

TIMUIT, DIXIT CRANMER ET NON —I. Article by Dix, 145.

TRURO CLERICAL CLUB : 1750-60. Article by Davies, 80.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

ARCHDALL, H. K. Review : J. S. Lawton, *Conflict in Christology: A Study of British and American Theologians from* 1889-1914, 268.

BROWNING, W. R. F. Article : *T. E. Hulme*, 59.

CAMMAERTS, E. Article : *The Work of the Christian Cell*, 241.

CANT, R. Review : E. G. Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition*, 261.

DAVIES, G. C. B. Article : *Truro Clerical Club* : 1750-60, 80.

DEANESLY, M. Review : F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* : *The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 120.

DIX, GREGORY. Article : *Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit—I*, 145.

DRIVER, J. T. Article : *The Papacy and the Diocese of Hereford*, 1307-1377, 31.

EVERY, GEORGE. Article : *Syriac and Arabic in the Church of Jerusalem*, 230.

FIDDIAN, C. M. Review : E. M. Venables, *Sweet Tones Remembered*, 134.

HODGSON, L. Article : *Christian Citizenship* : *Some Reflections on St. Augustine, Ep.* 138, 1.

HOOD, F. Review : A. T. P. Williams, *The Anglican Tradition in the Life of England*, 281.

LAWTON, J. S. Review : Emil Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*. 127.

LEEMING, B. Article : *A Major Christological Problem*, 216.

MARCH, W. W. S. Review : C. S. Phillips and Others, *Walter Howard Frere, Bishop of Truro*, 271.

MICKLEM, P. A. Review : H. R. T. Brandreth, *The Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement*, 266.

MOORMAN, J. R. H. Article : *The Country Parochial System* : *Some Counter-Reflections*, 192.

MORISON, L. J. Review : Arundell Esdaile, *The British Museum Library*, 137.

NORBURN, R. G. Article : *God's Favourite* : *or the Philosophical Importance of Sanctity*, 196.

OAKLEY, A. Review : Marcu Beza, *Heritage of Byzantium*, 280.

PEARCE, G. J. M. Article : *Marxism*, 66.

PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, W. J. Review : A. G. Hebert, *The Authority of the Old Testament*, 273.

SHAW, I. P. Article : *The Establishment of Archbishoprics in Europe*, 800-1500, 96.

SIMPSON, J. H. Review : Spencer Leeson, *Christian Education*, 129.
SODEN, G. Article : *Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester* (*continued*), 12.
WATKIN, E. I. Article : *A Stowe : An Epitome of the English Eighteenth Century*. 221.
WILLIAMS, C. S. C. Articles : *The Persian Sage*—I, 48 ; II, 177.
WOOD, T. Reviews : E. C. E. Bourne, *The Anglicanism of William Laud*, 123. H. R. T. Brandreth, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, 277.

AUTHORS REVIEWED

BEZA, MARCU. *Heritage of Byzantium*, 280.
BOURNE, E. C. E. *The Anglicanism of William Laud*, 123.
BRANDRETH, H. R. T. *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, 277. *The Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement*, 266.
BRUNNER, EMIL. *Revelation and Reason*, 127.
ESDAILE, ARUNDELL. *The British Museum Library*, 137.
HEBERT, A. G. *The Authority of the Old Testament*, 273.
LAWTON, J. S. *Conflict in Christology : A Study of British and American Theologians from* 1889-1914, 268.
LEESON, SPENCER. *Christian Education*, 129.
PHILLIPS, C. S. and Others. *Walter Howard Frere, Bishop of Truro*, 271.
POWICKE, F. M. *King Henry III and the Lord Edward. The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 120.
RUPP, E. G. *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition*, 261.
VENABLES, E. M. *Sweet Tones Remembered*, 134.
WILLIAMS, A. T. P. *The Anglican Tradition in the Life of England*, 281.